

HISTORY OF THE MUCHAL RULE IN INDIA 1526-1761

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INTRODUCTION.*

"History must from time to time be re-written, not because many new facts have been discovered, but because new aspects come into view, because the participant in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner."—Goethe.

"History is always growing and for this reason it always needs to be re-written. History is a progressive science, not merely because new facts are constantly being discovered, not merely because the changes in the world give to old facts a new significance,—but also because every truly penetrating and original mind sees in the old facts something which had not been seen before:"—BRYCE,—Introduction to *The History of the World*.

If the correct import of the two significant quotations from eminent thinkers, mentioned above, be carefully borne in mind, Prof. Kamdar need offer no apology for adding to the large number of works existing on the *History of the Mughal Rule in India*, a subject of perennial interest not only to students and readers in the university but to all those who have to take part in the present politics of India. History records hardly any other instance of a single family which has produced six unique figures of character and capacity, who wielded the imperial sceptre at Delhi for two hundred years. Their careers were so varied, the field of their activities so extensive, and the records of their achievements so profuse, that each of them has now attracted more than one specialist for his study: and yet one cannot say that little now remains to be investigated about them.

Consequently Prof. Kamdar's critical, frank and full exposition of what the Mughal Emperors achieved during their sway of two centuries and why they ultimately failed, will be found very

*I am very grateful to the eminent historian of the Marathas for this introduction. K. H. K.

serviceable. He has, I perceive, brought to bear on his theme all the erudition of an experienced professor, voluminous and accurate knowledge of a laborious worker and practical lessons derived from a careful observation of what is passing around us. We have here a critical examination of a succession of strong and vigorous rulers, who, by persistent effort, gradually brought the whole of India under subjection. These Mughal rulers, with a galaxy of eminent helpers whom they gathered round them, were men of exceptional bodily activity and great force of character, and having been blessed, for the most part, with long lives, they gave to India a long and brilliant period, characterised by strong and benevolent government, by continuous conquest and consolidation, and by increasing order and tranquillity within the realm.

The Indian community seems to have fallen at this moment on evil days. It is rent asunder by strife and disunion in all spheres of its life, for which history supplies hardly any parallel. Every thoughtful lover of India is using his best power to find out a solution out of the disastrous *impasse*. India is struggling to acquire *swarajya* by building up a constitution of her own on the parliamentary model, although democracy itself is on its trial at this moment in Europe, where several powerful nations are seeking salvation from their ills in dictatorships of one kind or another. How far this effort will be successful time alone can tell. China, with all her rich and plentiful resources has not yet succeeded in creating a stable government of her own. At such a juncture in the history of our country, it would do us tremendous good to know how, under similar circumstances, the same problems were successfully faced and how the common good was achieved through terrible difficulties. Let those who have studied the subject speak:—

“The Mughal government was a national government solely because it summed up the hopes, the beliefs, and the ideas of the Indian nation. The moral heritage which the Mughal State

bequeathed to posterity in the cause of Indian nationhood was its most important achievement for which the India of to-day has reason to be grateful." (Dr. Shaafat Ahmad's Introduction to Prof. Beniprasad's *History of the Reign of Jahangir*). Prof. Kamdar says: "The Mughal rule effected the administrative integration and the cultural unity of the land. (p.2)...The Mughals taught us to think and act imperially. (p. 312)...Their rule instilled into us the tradition of imperial enterprise and responsibility. We owe this great impulse to the Mughals. We learned not only to obey but to command also. The genius of the Mughal empire succeeded to some extent in bridging the gulf between the various parts and communities of India and created a sense of imperial citizenship in the Indian mind." (pp. 312-315)...Babar, the most captivating personality in oriental history, was the first to create not only an efficient administrative system, but also a lasting theory of kingship" (p. 13). "Abul Fazl's work is the most laborious and masterly exposition of the political and economic condition of India in the 16th century" (p. 103). Akbar studiously nurtured the idea of Indian unity." (pp. 104-105) and effected a synthetic fusion of two cultures, Hindu and Islamic, in administration, literature and architecture, so well exemplified in Fatehpur Sikri. (p. 99)... "By education and temperament, Aurangzib was unfit to handle imperial problems; he could fast and pray, persecute and destroy; but he could not build and consolidate. He himself admits: "My life has gone away for nothing."... "After Aurangzib India relapsed into individual, provincial and communal jealousies." (p. 204-211).

Such characterization is indeed full of valuable lessons in our present situation and it naturally suggests comparison with results attained by the present British rulers of India. The Hindus the Mohammedans, the two principal communities of India, did and once unite for the common service of their mother-land. Cannot they do so again in their own interest and settle all outstanding

disputes by mutual compromise and understanding.

Prof. Kamdar's exquisite treatment of all the intricate problems of administration and government, will, I am sure, convey a useful moral for us all. He has also marvellously succeeded in clearing the confused situation during the declining phase of the Mughal rule. He exhibits a singular grasp of the genius and capacity of the Marathas, of the causes that led to their rise and above all, of their determined and prolonged contest with the Afghan King, Ahmad Shah Abdali, which resulted so fatally for them at Panipat. He has brought under contribution all up-to-date sources of information and has handled those intricate topics with a penetrating insight. While I do not think I deserve the compliment Prof. Kamdar has paid me of asking me to write a few lines introducing to the public his scholarly history, I sincerely congratulate him on his performance and expect still him in the future.

G. S. Sardesai.

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION.

Indian historical literature is at present passing through a period of renaissance. Of course, it will take long before we shall be able to claim that we have established a state of *swarajya* in this very important branch of our culture. But there is no gain-saying the assertion that our present evaluation of persons and events in the long course of our chequered story is not the same as it was even a decade ago. Yet, it is so regrettable to find our university students going through their academic apprenticeship by reading texts, intended for the easy and comfortable consumption of an entirely different class of people and prepared on the basis of materials, which were scanty, which were worked out from an insular and not a continental angle of vision, and which were not handled always with sympathy. The present work is an attempt to supply a long-felt want in this direction. Every effort is made to make the book acceptable to students and to general readers who have neither the inclination, nor the time, to look into big histories or special monographs on the period, discussed here. Care is taken to see that the work does not degenerate into an examination-manual or a "crib" and that the exposition of the matter stimulates an inquisitive mind to a critical examination and study of the source-books of Mughal history. At the same time I have scrupulously avoided overcrowding the text with references, quotations and matters which were not absolutely germane to the development of the main story, for that would have only confused and blurred the impression and defeated the purpose, which it is required to serve.

The general reader and the university student are almost always inclined to accept as gospel truths the traditional and often intemperate versions of many important and interesting phases of Mughal history. But both should be reminded that a

careful perusal of many contemporary and authoritative works written by Indians will produce a just feeling of aversion against those garbled accounts. Indeed, we feel a sort of great intellectual relief when we receive different interpretations of the same phases from the pens of such master-minds like Prof. Jádunath Sarkar or Prof. Hodiwala.

For instance, the learned critiques of the one on the Deccan policy of Aurángzib and Shah Jahan's last days and the very valuable dissertations of the other on the coin-legend "Allahu Akbar" or "the Portrait Muhrs" of Jahangir in his *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* scatter to the winds the common text-book talk about Aurángzib's blunders, old Shah-Jahan's debauches, Akbar's apostacy and Jahangir's athiesm. Again, one feels a pardonable pride in the achievements of his countrymen as a historian like Mr. G. S. Sardesai unfolds before the view of the reader the great catastrophe that overtook the grand army of the Bhao and the temporary snub, which the northern policy of the Peshwá, Balaji, received in 1761. The failure of a supreme effort for a good and patriotic cause is more inspiring than a placid and abject surrender or disgraceful inanity.

I am very grateful to Principal Nawab Ali, editor of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, who always assisted me to a critical and an enlightened view of the religious policies of Akbar and Aurángzib.

The history of the later Mughals is so intricately interwoven with that of the Marathas in northern India that a book which is intended to meet the requirements of university students just going up for post-graduate work, does not deserve to be called a text if it fails to incorporate in it the results of researches into the sources of Maratha history. I have freely availed myself of the many instructive lessons in this department from the voluminous pen of Mr. G. S. Sardesai, whose genial and open-hearted friendship I had the privilege to claim for a number of years at Baroda. I should also thank my friend, Mr. Vakaskar,

another impartial worker in the same field.

I have associated Mr. R. M. Shah, once my student, in the preparation of this work but I owe it to him to say that for the expression of every opinion, for the insertion or rejection of every information, and for the evaluation of every episode in Mughal history the responsibility is mine and not his.

I know that I could have done much more to increase the usefulness of the work to the reader. That, however depends upon its reception.

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Some corrections and additions.

Page 135: Line 3 from bottom, read 1652 for 1662.

Page 178: Line 9, the temple of Khandoba is at Jejuri.

Pages 271, 285, 286, 287, 288: This important but little known '*sanad*' was igranted by the emperor to the Marathas in May, 1752.

Pages 273, 275: Vazir Ghazi-ud-din the younger, or the famous Shihabuddin, died in 1802 as a Jagirdar of the Marathas. A *jagir* at Kalpi was conferred upon him by Nana Fadnis and it was continued to his son after his death.

Page 298: Line 9, the great fight at Panipat took place three days after the *sankranti* festival.

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Page 298: Line 9, the great fight at Panipat took place three days after the sun's festival.

A History of the Mughal Rule in India. 1526-1761.

CHAPTER I.

Chief characteristics of the Period.

The period of Indian history from 1526 to 1761 is capable of a sharp differentiation from all other periods of it in several ways. Its history can be gathered up into two broad but unequal divisions, the first covering the time from the assumption of imperial rule by Babar in 1526 to the decease of the old and worn-out Aurangzib in 1707, and the second running from the accession of Bahadur Shah in 1707 to the defeat of the Marathas on the field of Panipat in January, 1761.

The first period is characterised by the establishment and progress of Mughal dominion in India, excepting a slight break, occasioned by the rise and fall of the dynasty of Sher Shah Sur. During this period, India found herself integrated into one great administrative and military entity. The second stage in the period is specialised by the decline and fall of the stupendous state-system, raised by the genius of Akbar

and nursed by the wise and beneficent care of Jahangir, Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan. The seeds of its decay were sown by Aurangzib, after whose death its fall was accelerated by the emergence of the Marathas, the Sikhs, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the East India Company. So the first important characteristic of the period was the political unification of India.

The next characteristic feature of the period was the administrative integration of the land. The Mughal Emperors instituted uniform systems of administration, revenue, coinage and army. Their feudatories accepted those administrative institutions and established them in their own states with slight modifications. Even the Sikhs and the Marathas, their most determined adversaries assimilated these innovations to their state-systems. Naturally, this political and administrative integration led to the cultural unity of the land. The Indian vernaculars were enriched by the inclusion of words of Persian, Turkish, and Arabic origin. Even the etiquette of the Indian society lent itself to this uniformity. Such a universal unity of Indian civilization had never been experienced, excepting in the days of the Mauryas. Consequently, the Empire of the Mughals or the MOGLAI captured the imagination of the Indian people, and that feeling has not still died out. Even the British raised a part of

their administrative machinery on the state-system of their predecessors. Many princely families which accept British suzerainty to-day, rose to prominence in the course of the decadent stage of Mughal history.

Another unparalleled contribution of the Mughal empire was the improved constitutional position of the feudatory prince. The system of inter-statal relations was indisputably crude and imperfect, but still, the feudatory of the Mughals was no mean partner in the economy of the empire. He represented the suzerain power in the local government, in the defence of the borders, and at the court of an ally or an enemy, and held the highest position in the administration.

Next, almost all the members of the Mughal dynasty showed very friendly feelings to the civilization and culture of the Hindus. This mutual fellowship between the imperial administration and our hoary civilization resulted in great benefits to both.

Mughal emperors were men of great culture. Most of them distinguished themselves as great writers and builders. Under their patronage arose new schools of art, literature, religion, philosophy, law, architecture, painting and music. This alone would suffice to keep for ever the memory of their rule green in the Indian mind.

The Mughals gave us a splendid and exten-

sive literature on history. Their empire stood as a convenient and happy link between mediævalism and modernism. This is the true interpretation of the famous introductory remarks in Lane Poole's 'Babar.'

"Babar is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government."

The society of India was re-cast during these years. Hinduism and Islam felt the inevitable action and reaction.

The establishment of the great dynasty synchronised with the rise of the Bhakti and Vaishnava schools. Gauranga in Bengal, Kabir and Nanak in the Punjab, and Ramdas and Tukaram in Maharashtra and Vallabhacharya preached different ideas of religion. Even Islam was threatened with a split by the progress of the Mahadavi sect. These reforming movements in Hinduism and Islam had great political effects on the histories of the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzib.

It was on the eve of the establishment of the Mughals that Europeans first settled on our coasts. The Portuguese grew and declined along with the Mughals and the East India Company rose simultaneously with the decay of the Mughal empire in the Carnatic and Bengal, its hinter-lands.

Lastly, the Mughals maintained very brisk cultural and political relations with lands beyond the Indus. Afghanistan was a province of their

empire up to 1739. The intellect and the arm of the empire were drawn from Persia, Trans-Oxiana and Afghanistan.

Thus the period of Mughal history in India linked itself with the progress of history in Europe and Asia.

CHAPTER II.

Political condition of India in 1526.

In 1526 there was no paramount power in India, claiming suzerainty over the whole or the largest portion of it. The country was broken up into a number of states, which contended with one another on a footing of equality. Kashmir was ruled by the members of the Chak dynasty. At the time of Babar's invasion the succession to its throne was under dispute. Bengal was independent of the Sultan of Delhi and in 1526, Nasrat Shah was the reigning Sultan. Jaunpur, Oudh, Behar and Allahabad were under the control of powerful Afghan families, the chief of which were the Lohanis, the Farukis and the Surs. The provinces of Agra, Delhi, Sarhind and Lahore were under Ibrahim Khan Lodi, suspicious, greedy, miserly and oppressive. He was just now attempting to gather all the scattered threads of the Afghan polity into his hands. But this centralizing policy excited the jealousies and resistance of his Hindu

and Mussalman nobility. The Afghan sultan's office was from the first an elective one and it was an easy step from the respectable but inferior status of a Khan to the eminent and all-powerful position of the Sultan. Even this kingly office had ceased to function and the Sultan of Delhi was an equal only amongst equals. As Erskine observes:—

“These extensive possessions though under one king had no strong principle of cohesion. The monarchy was a congeries of nearly independent principalities, jagirs and provinces, each ruled by a hereditary chief or by a zamindar or a delegate from Delhi and the inhabitants looked more to their immediate governors, who had absolute powers in the provinces and in whose hands lay their happiness and misery than to a distant and little-known overruler. It was the individual, and not law, that reigned.”

The viceroy of the Punjab, Daulat Khan Lodi, and other kinsmen of the Sultan, were conspiring against their chief. Beyond the Indus in Afghanistan, Babar was the most powerful neighbour of the Lodi dynasty. In Multan and over the northern parts of Sindh, the most influential ruler was Shah Husain Arghun. Lower Sindh was under petty Mussalman and Hindu chieftains. Malwa was under Prince Mahmud of the Khilji dynasty with Mandu as its capital. This state was, however, under the control of the Rajputs, Raja Medini Rai of Chanderi being the king-maker there. The state of Gujarat was held by Sultan Bahadur Shah. It competed for

supremacy even with the Sultanate of Delhi. Sultan Bahadur Shah had established protectorates over Malwa, Ahmednagar and even Khandesh. He was in league with the Egyptians and the Turks and held the Portuguese on the coast at bay because they intruded upon the rich commerce of Gujarat. The last powerful kingdom of northern India was Mewar. Rana Sangram Singh, the acknowledged leader of all Rajputana, had inherited from his ancestor, Rana Kumbha, a great state and a great name, and had defied the states of Gujarat, Malwa and Delhi. He could muster an army of 80,000 horse, seven princes of the first rank, 104 chiefs of lesser rank and 500 elephants. Rajputana always served a very important historical purpose in Indian politics: it prevented Hindu civilization from being completely effaced by the Mussalmans of the north. Southern India was divided between the five Bahamani rulerships, the Imad Shah of Berar, the Barid Shahi of Bedar, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, the Kutb Shahi of Golkonda and the Adil Shahi of Bijapur up to the Tungabhadra, and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar to the south. Berar and Bedar came up soon for absorption by their very strong neighbours. Bijapur controlled the western sea-board of the Konkan and fought on equal terms with the Portuguese for mastery of the sea-borne

trade. Goalkōnda swayed a part of the eastern sea-board. They were all fighting with their powerful neighbour—the Maharaja of Vijayanagar, for the possession of the Raichur Doab, a no-man's land between the Tūngabhadra and the Krishna and the Hindu king of Vijayanagar served the same historical purpose in the Deccan, as the Rajputs of Rajputana in the north. He forced upon his northern antagonists a strickly Deccani policy, thus preventing them from extending their protectorates over Khandesh, Malwa and south Gujarat.

The capitals of these states were distinguished centres of art and learning. The Hindus did not receive a cordial treatment from their Mussalman rulers, though there were a few exceptions here and there. On the other hand, the Mussalman subjects of Hindu rulers were treated with sympathy and tolerance.

Although we were very well advanced in the many arts of peace, we were exceedingly deficient in those of war, thanks to the social and political exclusiveness of the Afghans. This lack of upto-date military knowledge and especially our regrettable ignorance of the use of artillery and cavalry sufficiently account for the easy and complete victory, which the small but well-equipped army of Babar obtained over the multitudinous, brave, but ill-disciplined hordes

of Ibrahim Khan, ridiculously encumbered with elephants.

CHAPTER III.

The reign of Babar Padshah

Forteenth in descent from Chingiz Khan on his mother's side, and sixth

Early Career in descent from Timur on his father's side, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar was born in February 1483. He became ruler of Ferghana at the age of twelve on the death of his father, Shaikh Umar Mirza. His chief ambition was to seize Samarkand, the capital of Timur, which he did in 1497. It was the proudest day of his life and he remembereed it to his last breath. But a conspiracy was formed against him by his half-brother and he lost Samarkand and even part of Ferghana. In 1500, however, Babar captured Samarkand from the inveterate enemy of the Timurids, the Uzbek Sultan Shaibani Khan. A year later, it was again lost. In 1502, even Ferghana was lost. This completes the first part of Babar's romantic career.

Ferghana, Babar's own patrimony, Badakshan, Bokhara, and Khorasan were under Shai-bani. So Babar turned his attention to the only remaining part of his ancestral dominion, Afghanistan. An internal intrigue had driven away his cousin from Kabul. So Babar, as he

says in his own memoirs, "without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, obtained and made subject Kabul and Gazni and their dependent districts," in October, 1504. He drove away the Uzbeks from Kandahar. In 1507, he assumed the title of *Padshah*, thus emphasizing his primacy among the Chagatai and Mughal chieftains. When Shaibani Khan, the terrible Uzbek chief, was slain in a fight against the Shah of Persia, Babar conquered Bokhara, entered Samarkand and made friendship with the Persian ruler. This completes the second period of Babar's career.

Kabul, as Babar himself described, "was the intermediate point between Hindustan and Khorasan." The province of the Punjab was once a part of the dominions of Timur, and in the uncertain political situation which then reigned at Delhi, any powerful descendent of that great conqueror could claim that province. Babar made five attempts to have the Punjab. In 1504, he raided India as far as Kohat. In 1519, he captured Bajaur, ordered a general massacre of its population, and advanced as far as the Jhelum. But Daulat Khan Lodi expelled the Mughal garrisons. So in 1520, Babar for the third time invaded the Punjab and his army encamped as far as Shialkot. In 1524, he was approached by Dilavar Khan, son of Daulat Khan.

Lodi for assistance to place the Sultan's uncle, Alam Khan, on the throne of Delhi. So, for the fourth time, Babar occupied Lahore and conferred upon Dilavar Khan the fiefs of Sultanpur and Jalandhar. But Daulat Khan and Alam Khan proved treacherous and as soon as Babar left the Punjab, all his garrisons were expelled by the Afghans.

These interminable intrigues of the Afghan nobles convinced Babar that a permanent hold on the Punjab was possible only if he could humiliate for ever, and even terminate if possible, the Sultanate of Delhi. So he resolved to try his strength with Sultan Ibrahim. This was to be his fifth and last invasion of India.

Babar started for the last invasion of India

Babar's last invasion.
The Battle of Panipat, April, 1526.

in November, 1525, with a small but well-equipped army of 12000 men. Up to the Bias, no important opposition was offered to

him. Daulat Khan Lodi surrendered and Dilawar Khan joined his army with Babar. Ibrahim Khan Lodi sent two advanced parties but both were routed in the early months of 1526. By this Babar's army was reduced to 8000. Besides, garrisons were left in the conquered areas. On the other hand, Ibrahim Khan Lodi mustered up an army five times as strong and even more. The two armies came in front of each other

on the field of Panipat, "a large and populous town", "where the prize of India had so often been the reward of the victor" in the morning of 21st April, 1526. "Babar had divided his troops into two lines, composed of four divisions with a reserve in the rear of each and a few light horse to skirmish in front. He linked up his park of artillery with leather ropes, made of raw hides, according to the practice of the armies of Asia Minor. He also placed a grand reserve in the rear of both lines. Ibrahim Lodi drew up his forces in one solid mass. The Afghans were almost cut to pieces. Five thousand men fell around Ibrahim, who was found among the slain. According to the most correct account 16000 Afghans were slain in this action, though some others have computed the number at 50,000." Babar himself wrote: "By the grace and mercy of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust."

Delhi was soon occupied. Agra was captured by Prince Humayun, who was presented with the *Koh-i-nur* by the royal family of Gwalior. Babar was now proclaimed emperor of Hindustan.

Babar won because, in the first place the times were propitious. India was seething with factions. Babar was strong and prepared and on

Why Babar won at
Panipat.

his side there was a member of the Lodi family to sanction his plans and invite adhesion. Then Sultan Ibrahim was no match in generalship with Babar, who described him as "an inexperienced young man, careless in his movements, who marched without order and halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight." Babar had made very skilful and effectual dispositions of his army. The effectiveness of his artillery, under the able leadership of its chief, Ustad Ali, a Turk, was another important cause of his victory.

Babar had conquered Ibrahim. But his difficulties were great. The administrative system of the Sultan of Delhi had completely broken down. Babar therefore had to create an administration, which would bring to the state sufficient revenues to pay the army and the civil establishments. He had to create a sense of obedience in the mind of his nobility. Again the Afghans had never acknowledged the absolute prerogative of the Sultan of Delhi. Therefore Babar had to create not only a rigorous and efficient administrative system; he had also "to create a theory of kingship."

These difficulties were legacies from his predecessors. Greater difficulties were created by the new situation. Babar's men longed for the cool and refreshing climate of Afghanistan and disdained

the idea of making India a permanent home. The Afghans crowned one Bahadur Khan Lodi as their Sultan and their chiefs held independent rule at Biana, Mewat (Alwar), Dholpur, Gwalior, Etawa, Kalpi and Sambhal. There was the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sangram Singh to reckon with. Lastly Babar's army was very small. Let us see how he surmounted these difficulties.

The Afghan chiefs submitted to Babar, when they knew that the conqueror had come to stay in India. Reduction of the Afghans. Humayun scared away the Lohanis and Farmulis from Jaunpur and Oudh and Babar drove them away beyond the Ganges in 1528.

The Sultan of Bengal, Nasrat Shah, sheltered his relation, Muhammad, son of Sikander Lodi. The allied armies confronted Babar at the confluence of the Ganges and the Ghagra and were completely routed in May, 1529. Thus Jaunpur and Behar were secured.

Rana Sangram Singh was the other powerful prince to be tackled with by Babar. The Rana had once approached Babar through an embassy to Kabul. Now he took under his protection Hassan Khan Mewati and Sultan Muhammad, son of Sikandar Lodi. He besieged Biana and claimed from Babar the restoration.

Babar and Rana Sangram Singh. The Battle of Kanwa.

of Dholpur and Kalpi. This difference could only be settled by appeal to force. The two parties met each other near Kanwa, ten miles from Fatehpur Sikri on the 16th of March, 1527. Rana Sanga commanded an enormous horde of 200,000 men and was eight times as strong as his adversary. The vastness of his army

* "Rana Sanga exhibited at his death the fragments of a warrior. One eye was lost in a broil with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodi King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball while he counted 80 wounds from the swords or the lance on various parts of his body." Babar himself pays a just tribute to him in his Memoirs. "It is remarkable, that since this defeat, no Rana of Chitor has ever taken the field against a Mogul Emperor in person." says Erskine. The great poet-philosopher, Nanalal, of Gujarat, philosophises upon this in his '*Chagtai Nama*' in the following blank verse. "સુરજવંશ ધર્મક્ષેત્રે રણસ્થંભ જીતશે, સારે હસ્તિનાપુરે હિન્દુપત સ્થપાશે. દક્ષિણના દુર્ગોમાં જન્મશે ત્હારો (સંગતો) વંશજ, (શિવાજી). દક્ષિણનો સેનાપતિ (સદાશિવરાવ ભાઉ) પાણીપતમાં પડશે; પણ હીંબુઉછાળ એ જયસિંહાસન. મહારાણો પાણીપતમાં હોમાશે; સારે હિંદુપત પાછી સ્થપાશે. વાઘેશ્વરીનું અખર માગે છે, મહાવીરના મહાભોગ. ડાગરનાં લોહી કુરુક્ષેત્રમાં ઇંટાયા હોત, તો ભારત આજ અદ્દર હોત અવનિમાં:—"

KAUMUDI. (Gujarati Quarterly.) Shraavan-Ashvin, 1983, Samvat.

and the reputation of the Rajputs for valour and stubborn fighting greatly unnerved Babar's army. In two small skirmishes, the Rajputs were victorious. Babar therefore made a stirring appeal to his soldiers. He broke all goblets and cups of wine, gave up the property-tax upon Mussalmans and vowed never to drink, if God gave him victory. The action lasted the whole day. The Rajputs were mowed down by the artillery and matchlocks of Babar. Sangram Singh fled away, to die soon after. The Rajput menace was over and Babar was firmly established. The Rana's son, Vikramajit, surrendered Ranthambhor to Babar and solicited his help against his brother.

The Rajputs in Rajputana were shattered; but they were very powerful in the state of Malwa and the Capture of Chanderi. the fortress of Chanderi, which lay in the south of Malwa, was held by Medini Rai, king-maker at Mandu. Babar offered special terms to Medini Rai but they were refused. So Chanderi was stormed and captured. The Rajputs fell after a desperate fight and *Jouhar*. Babar handed over the fort to the Khilji Sultan of Malwa. He had an intention to march against Bhilsa, Sarangpur and Raisen, which were in Rajput hands; but he could not carry out his design on account of the Afghan trouble in the east.

Babar had sent his eldest son, Humayun, to Badakshan against the Uzbegs.

Intrigues for the throne.

Advantage was taken of the absence of the heir-apparent to set aside his claim to the throne and to place the husband of Babar's sister, Mahdi Khwaja on it. But on the return of Humayun in 1529, the conspiracy was suppressed.

Babar died in December, 1530, at the age of 48, at Agra. A well-known anecdote attributes his fatal sickness to his devotion as parent. He lies buried at Kabul.

Abul Fazl in his *Akbar Nama* mentions eight essentials of Babar as an emperor: "(1) high fortune (2) great designs (3) conquering power (4) administrative capacity (5) civilising faculty (6) devotion to the welfare of servants (7) the cherishing of the army and (8) restraining it from evil." Babar experienced the strangest vicissitudes of life. Before the age of 20, "he had experienced every diversity of fortune, having been by turns a petty prince, the conqueror of a renowned kingdom, and a houseless and hunted fugitive. But by his native energy, he emerged from the sweeping inundation, which overtook the Timurids in their home-land and raised himself to the rank of a great ruler and the first emperor of India." Exceptionally strong in

body and very fond of physical exercises, he was a great athlete. He could often run along the battlements of a fort, having a man under each arm and thus encumbered could walk on and leap over the embrasures on his way. Frank, gay and affable, he was capable of the warmest affections for kith and kin and the most extensive sympathy with human miseries. Love of enterprise and glory fired his imagination and boundless ambition impelled him from defeat to victory and led him on to eminence and renown. An idea of his indefatigable energy may be gathered from his own statement that he never kept his fast of *Ramzan* twice at the same place. He never lost heart under the most trying difficulties. A brave warrior, a renowned general, a master of strategy, Babar was the first commander of his age. Great as a soldier, he was still greater as a prince of peace. He laid out gardens, built palaces, introduced new plants and fruits in Hindustan, studied the customs and habits of the people, and patronised learning. He wrote the best Turkish poetry and we have the testimony of his cousin, Haider Mirza, the celebrated author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* that, in this department he was matchless. He was the author of the *Babri* mode of hand-writing. He wrote on jurisprudence, religion and prosody. He was a scholar of Persian and Hindi and was well-skilled in music and pen-

manship. He ordered all his marches to be regularly measured. He established post-houses from Agra to Kabul at a distance of 15 miles each, with relays of officers and horses. Babar was exceedingly fond of wine.

"Let me have wine and blooming maidens.

All other joys, I freely spurn.

Enjoy them, Babar, while you may,

For youth once past never returns."

But he was not a great administrator or a great diplomat. He laid the foundations of a great empire only as a conqueror and it is no good to defend him and say that he had but four years' time to devote to this art. During the same time, Sher Shah laid the foundations of a great and permanent bureaucratic system in a larger empire. He came in possession of vast riches at Delhi and Agra. But he squandered them away in lavish gifts. He parcelled out his empire amongst officers, who did not scruple to intrigue against his son and successor, Humayun. But these weaknesses should not detract from the distinguished position to which Babar is entitled in history. As Lane Poole rightly observes, "Babar is perhaps the most captivating personality in oriental history."

A specimen of Babar's simple poetry may be given from Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama*:

“ Though I be not related to dervishes,
 Yet am I their follower in heart and soul;
 Say not, a king is far from a dervish,
 I am a king but yet the slave of dervishes.”

Babar wrote his memoirs in Turki. They do not give a complete history of his reign because there are three important gaps, from 1503 to 1504, 1503 to 1519, and 1522 to 1525. The memoirs were translated in a rhetorical style and in the third person in Persian by a courtier and secretary of Babar, named Shaikh Zahil. The authoritative translation came from the pen of Khan Khanan, Abdurrahim, in the reign of Akbar. They were translated into French from the original Turki by Pavet D'Courteille and from Persian into English by Erskine and Leyden in 1826. Recently Mrs. Beveridge has obliged the reader by an English translation with a complete index from the original Turki.

About Hindustan Babar wrote, “The country and towns are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look. Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society. They have no genius, no intellectual comprehension, no politeness, no kindness, no ingenuity, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses,

no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruit, no ice or cold water, no baths or colleges, no candles or torches, never a candle stick!" Babar however admits that "there are some advantages, such as abundance of workmen and the pleasant climate during the rain but on the whole the chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a big country with plenty of gold and silver."

Had he been spared a decade or two more, and had he seen more of India and her people, he would have changed his opinion.

Babar gave his revenues as 52 crores of *Tankas* eight to nine crores of which were paid by feudatories.

The memoirs of Babar may best be compared with the "Commentaries" of Cæsar and the "Expedition" of Xenophen and the memoirs of the best European writers fade into insignificance in comparison with them. They also surpass the reminiscences of Timur and Jahangir. The style of the work is extremely simple and bold. The writer gives in it a graphic and picturesque account of the flora and fauna of the countries of his acquaintance and the life, manners, customs and habits of the people, who came under his observation. They are also a store-house of information on the author's personal life.

CHAPTER IV.

Humayun 1530-1540.

Humayun ascended the throne at Agra in December, 1530. at the age of 22.

Humayun. His difficulties. Impolitic partition of the empire.

He had seen active service during Babar's life-time in Badakshan, Agra, and in Oudh and

Gwalior. His weak and indolent character had become the occasion for a court-intrigue to disinherit him. Humayun had to contend against very serious difficulties. First, there were rival parties at the court, each inclined to set up its own candidate. Secondly, the army and nobility were prevaricating between India and western Asia. The heterogenous composition of this army, which consisted of Chagatais, Uzbeks, Mughals, Persians and Indians, was another weakness. Thirdly, the Afghans were still formidable. They held important *jagirs* in the east and powerful rule in Gujarat and Bengal. Next, the character of Humayun was weak. He increased his difficulties by the indiscreet partition of his empire amongst his brothers. "Family affection was not the characteristic virtue amongst the brothers and sons of the Mughal emperors." His eldest brother, by name Kamran, nominated to the government of Kabul and Kandahar during the life-time of Babar, took forcible possession of the Punjab. So Humayun

gave to him that province and also the fief of Hissar Firoza, thus elevating him to a rank, equal to his own. Humayun handed over Sambhal to Mirza Askari and Mewat to Hindal. By this impolitic division of the empire, the sources of recruitment for the administration and army beyond the Indus were allowed to pass into the hands of Kamran, the most treacherous of his three brothers and Humayun was isolated and his position was made very weak.

The first two years of the new reign were taken up by victories over the Rajputs of Kalanjar and the Afghans. Sultan Muhammad fled to Bengal and Sher Khan Sur submitted and agreed to send his son to accompany Humayun to Malwa and Gujarat.

Sultan Bahadur Shah raised himself to the throne of Gujarat by cunning, resolution, and murder, just at the time when Babar established his empire in India. Bahadur's was a very energetic and victorious reign. He led the Gujarati armies against Bedar and Ahmednagar, Malwa and Mewar, Ajmere and Ranthambhor. The Sultan defeated a great Portuguese fleet off Div. He strengthened the forts of Broach and Surat and engaged a great artillery officer, Rumi Khan, in his service. His word was law in

Reduction of Kalanjar and the Afghans.

Humayun and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

Khandesh and Berar. Thus the young Sultan raised the rich kingdom of Gujarat to a leading position in northern India. Many Afghan leaders clustered round him after their flight from Humayun. He was once adopted as candidate for the throne of Delhi by the nobles of Jaunpur. He entertained Humayun's brother-in-law and rival, Muhammad Zaman Mirza. The emperor demanded satisfaction for these insults. Again, political wisdom required that the disturbance in the balance of power by the rapid rise of Gujarat to a formidable first-class position should receive correction from the arms of Humayun.

Bahadur Shah sent two armies against Humayun. But they were defeated.

The defeat of Bahadur Shah. Conquest and loss of Malwa and Gujarat.

Humayun then advanced against his adversary. At this time Bahadur Shah was engaged in the

reduction of Chitor. So the emperor maintained scrupulous neutrality. But after its fall in March, 1535, he moved northwards and by blocking up all the avenues of supply for the Gujarati armies, compelled Bahadur to surrender at Mundeshwer, July, 1535. Many from the enemy's army deserted to Humayun in this fight.

Re-inforced by this additional army, Humayun pursued Bahadur Shah to Malwa. Mandu and Champaner fell to him. So the Gujarati Sultan fled to Cambay and then to Div. Humayun raided the

whole of Gujarat and returned by way of Burhanpur to the north. The conquered province was left in charge of Mirza Askari. But the new administrators made themselves very obnoxious. So the people rose in revolt and Bahadur Shah was again seated on his ancestral throne in 1537. Humayun's occupation of Gujarat had lasted only for nine months. But Bahadur Shah did not live long to enjoy the fruits of victory, for he lost his life in the course of a scuffle with the Portuguese governor on the high seas off the island of Div, February, 1537. The loss of Gujarat was followed by the loss of Malwa. During these campaigns serious troubles broke out in the north under the leadership of the Afghan Sultan, Muhammad, and Muhammad Zaman, Humayun's rival and brother-in-law.

The absence of Humayun, the withdrawal of all the best troops from the northern provinces, the revolts of Muhammad Sultan and Muhammad Zaman and the proved incompetence of the emperor and his brother threw the political situation of Hindustan in complete disorder. The great Afghan leader, Sher Khan Sur, availed himself of this general disorder and became master of Behar and Bengal. But Humayun wasted one year in opium-eating and merry-making. Then he was stirred to action and in January, 1538, he besieged Chunar, Sher Shah's strong fort. Rumi

Humayun and Sher Shah.

Khan's artillery compelled the garrison to surrender. But Sher Khan quitted the fortress and made away to Bengal. His terms of peace were rejected by the emperor, who occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, in July, 1538. But the bird slipped away. Sher Khan came out from the province of Bengal just as the emperor reached Gaur. He now possessed himself of the provinces of Behar, Kanauj, Jaunpur and Benares, thus cutting off the communications of the imperial army in Bengal. At Agra, Hindal proclaimed himself emperor. So Humayun conquered Bengal only at the cost of his empire and throne.

Humayun marched out of Bengal when the rainy season set in. He kept up
 Battle of Chaunsa. facing the enemy on the field of Chaunsa for more than two months. He was hard-pressed for supplies. So one early morning, the intrepid and watchful Sher Khan led a surprise attack upon the army of Humayun. The whole camp dispersed in no time. The Imperial *zanana* fell into the enemy's hands and Humayun himself narrowly escaped by the aid of a water-carrier, Nizam by name, who carried him safely to the other side of the Ganges. The Mughals were expelled from Bengal and Behar and Sher Khan's armies raided the imperial lands as far as Bundelkhand. Sher Khan became Sher Shah, Sultan of Bengal, by the end of 1539.

With a demoralised and defeated army and in the face of rebellion and in-

Battle of Kanauj. trigue at home and abroad Humayun could not make timely preparations to humble his great rival. Even a common disaster did not unite the four brothers. Still in April, 1540, the emperor started against Sher Shah with 40,000 men and a powerful park of artillery. The action took place near Kanauj in May, 1540, where Humayun met with a crushing defeat. Sher Shah pursued the defeated enemy right up to the Punjab, which was surrendered by Kamran.

Humayun was refused permission to stay long in the Punjab by his brother, Kamran. So he meditated an expedition into Kashmir. But

Fugitive Humayun, 1540-1555.

in this design he was frustrated by his artful brother. In despair he turned to northern Sindh and requested Shah Husain, the ruler of Bakkhar, to support the plan of an invasion of Gujarat, which he intended to make his base of operations against Sher Shah. But it was refused. So Humayun remained at Bakkhar and attempted its reduction at great cost of time and energy. He turned for help to Maldev, the Maharaja of Marwar. But the Raja was pressed by the armies of Sher Shah. Hence Humayun went to Umarkot with a following of only seven men. It was here that the great Akbar was born, October, 1542. Rana Prasad, the chief of

Umarkot, gave some assistance to Humayun. Thence he went to Sivistan and afterwards to Herat and thence to Kazvin in Persia in 1543, where Shah Tahmasp gave him a magnificent reception.

Tahmasp's sister developed a remarkable intimacy with Humayun, who heard discourses on the Shia faith from the religious doctors of Persia. So the Shah promised help to the exiled monarch for the conquest of Badakshan, Kabul and Kandahar, the last of which Humayun was to make over to the government of Persia. Repeated pressure was brought to bear upon Humayun for conversion. But he refused to sign the articles of the Shia faith, although he ordered a public recital of its formula, adopted the bonnet of that creed, and almost approximated to it.

With the help of the Persian army, Humayun captured Kandahar from Mirza Askari in March, 1545. Prince Murad, the nominal commandar of the Persian forces, died immediately. So he kept the fort with himself. Kabul was seized from Kamran in 1547. The subsequent career of Humayun is full of varying fortune. Suffice it to say that it was not till his brothers were dead or exiled that he had peace in his kingdom. Askari died in the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Hindal died in battle. And Kamran after repeated forgiveness had to be blinded and sent to Mecca, where he too died.

Early in 1555, in the midst of confusion that marked the rule of the weak and inefficient successors of Sher Shah, Humayun descended from Kabul with 15,000 horse, seized the Punjab, defeated Sikandar Sur at Sirhind, June, 1555, occupied Delhi and Agra, and set about organizing the administration of the territories. Unfortunately, scarcely had there been six months after Humayun's occupation of the throne, when descending from a staircase he slipped, fell head-long over a parapet and died in October, 1556, at the age of fifty-one.

portray Humayun as a genial, affectionate, polite, frank, generous and witty prince. He was a man of great quickness of parts. But he was indolent and volatile and he wasted the most precious moments of his life in idle merry-making and crude and fanciful experiments in administration. He was very brave on the battle-field and his escalating the walls of Champaner at the risk of life inspired confidence and energy in the minds of his soldiers. But he had not the brain of a great and watchful commander of large armies or the versatility of a strategist. This accounts for his defeat by Sher Shah. Humayun was an accomplished prince. A poet, a mathematician, an astronomer, a writer of no mean repute, and a great collector of books, he maintained his father's reputation as a great patron of learning. Khondamir, the celebrated historian, was the special recipient of his patronage.

But overflowing with the virtues of a gentleman, Humayun sadly lacked in the qualities of a prince. Still he evokes the historian's admiration for the great fortitude and patience, with which he bore his many afflictions. The tenacity of purpose and the single-minded care with which he pursued his scheme for the re-conquest of India specially merit a mention in an impartial judgment of his character.

Humayun desired to parcel his empire into a number of provinces, each with its own capital

and a board of administration. The emperor was to supervise their government by periodical visits. He divided the officers of the state and the inhabitants of the kingdom into three classes—*Ahl-i-Daulat*—officers, *Ahl-i-Sadat*—good men and *Ahl-i-Murad*—people of pleasure. The days of the week were divided in the same fashion and special days were assigned to each class, to which an arrow was given as mark of differentiation from other classes. A further division of the people was carried out into twelve classes. The affairs of the state were again divided into four departments according to the four elements—*Atashi*, of fire, *Hawai*, of air, *Abi*, of water, *Khakhi*, of earth. But these were fanciful experiments.

CHAPTER V.

Sher Shah Sur, 1540–1545.

The childhood and youth of Sher Shah were spent in the great school of adversity. His grand-father, Ibrahim, belonged to the Sur section of the Afghan tribe and was a dealer in horses in the time of Bahlol Lodi. A native of Roh, he subsequently settled in the district of Narnol. His son, Hassan, is described by Abul Fazl as having been once in the service of Rai Mal, grand-father of Rai Sal Darbari, Akbar's

Early career, 1486–
1530.

courtier. Hasan had two sons, Farid and Nizām; the elder Farid or the future Sher Shah having been born in about 1486. The two brothers were unlucky enough to be the offsprings of an unfavourite, though the first wife, and were very much ill-treated by their father and step-mother. Hasan's master was transferred to the district of Jaunpur where he obtained lands near Sahasram and Khavaspur. But being disgusted with the ill-treatment he received under the paternal roof, Farid sought the protection of his father's patron at Jaunpur in about 1501, where he became an accomplished student of history and literature and an experienced revenue officer. Consequently, when Jamal Khan Sarangkhanī, his father's patron, transferred to him the independent charge of Hasan's *jagir*, Farid greatly improved its management and won popularity with the agricultural classes. But after eight years step-motherly intrigue once more compelled him to leave his father's *jagir* and seek fortune at Delhi and Agra. Ibrahim Khan Lodi passed the grant in Farid's name on the death of Hasan in 1520. A quarrel therefore arose between him and his step-brothers. So Farid went under the protection of Bahar Khan Lohani, afterwards Sultan Muhammad, who employed him as tutor to his son and as fiscal officer. In this service he once slew a tiger and so his employer made him Sher Khan. The Afghans were now a

conquered tribe and Sher Khan became a temporary Jagirdar of Babar. His innermost desire was to organise an influential position for the Sūr family in south-westerly Behar, and if possible to create a strong Afghan party with a view to expel the intruders from central Asia. But times were not propitious. The Afghans were ill-disciplined and dis-united and their several sections submitted to the conquerors, one after another, 1526-30. So he waited for the time being. Sher Khan married the beautiful and sagacious Lad Malika, once the wife of the governor of Chunar. By this marriage he obtained an influential status in south Behar and a large treasure and a fort of great strategic strength.

Humayun compelled Sher Khan to cede Chunar in 1532. So Sher Khan allied himself with the governor of Hajipur, then a part of Bengal and helped him in his quarrel with his master. This alliance brought on him the resentment of the power of Bengal, whose armies, aided by the Portuguese, were defeated by Sher Khan in March, 1534, at Surajgadh. The political independence of Bengal was terminated by this decisive victory. Sher Khan now became the most powerful chief in eastern India, though still he acknowledged the suzerainty of Humayun. But the emperor called upon him to surrender his new title and territori-

es. So the siege of Chunar began in January, 1538. It was during this crisis that Sher Khan treacherously obtained the possession of Rohtas, "possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in India," from Raja Harikrishna [Rai], by bribing his Brahmin servant. Tradition says that Sher Khan smuggled his army into the fort by *dolis*, but this story does not find sanction in the work of Abbas Khan, the historian of the reign of Sher Khan.

The story of the fall of Chunar, the conquest and loss of Bengal by Humayun, and Sher Khan's victory over the emperor at Chaunsa and Kanauj were told in the previous chapter.

After the battle of Chaunsa, Sher Khan assumed the title of Sultan Sher Shah of Bengal and Jaunpur, coined money, ordered the *Khutba* to be read in his name, and sent envoys to the various kingdoms of northern India.

Sher Shah became Sultan of India after the defeat of Humayun at Kanauj. Sher Shah, as Sultan, 1540-45. The dream of his life was realised. The Afghans were once more restored to power.

Sher Shah's generals drove away the last Mughal soldier from the Punjab. The Gakkhars, who were the allies of the Timurids, were invited to submit, but on their refusal a strong fort was

with a view to invade India by way of Gujarat and Malwa. But Sher Shah anticipated the design of Humayun. Malwa was the weakest spot in the political system of northern India at that time. Its several forts were held by ambitious chieftains, Mussalman and Hindu. Maldev, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, closely watched the political weakness of Malwa and was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to annex it. Kadir Shah, the ruler of Bhilsa, was suspected by Sher Shah of having carried out the death of his eldest son, Kutb Shah, and recently he had communicated with him on a footing of equality. So the campaign of Malwa started in April, 1542. Kadir Shah fled away to Gujarat. The other chieftains surrendered. Sarangpur, Ujjain, Hindia, Mandu, Ranthambhor, Chanderi—all fell to the invader one by one. Malwa was annexed.

Raisin, a strong fort standing on a very high hill of the Vindhya mountains and stretching north and south for about eight miles along the eastern bank of the Betwa, was held by Puran Mal, a celebrated Rajput chieftain. Sher Shah offered Benares to him in exchange for it but he rejected the terms and so the fort was besieged by the Sultan in person. The siege lasted from April to June, 1543. At last Puran Mall negotiated for a surrender on condition that

Siege and capture
of Raisin,

the Rajputs in the fort should be given a safe passage to Malwa. The condition was accepted by Sher Shah. The fort was handed over to him and the garrison, numbering 10,000, walked out of it and encamped two stages near the Afghan army. But Shaikh Raff-ud-din Safavi and other Ulama in the camp issued a public *fatwah* calling upon the Mussalman army to make short work of the infidels. So Puran Mall and his men massacred their women and children and fell, fighting to the last. Sher Shah cannot escape responsibility for the massacre, though an attempt is made to justify his connivance on the ground that the fury of the Afghan fanatics was beyond his control. The reduction of Raisin and the expulsion of the Rajputs completed the conquest of Malwa and the annihilation of Rajput influence in that land.

Maharaja Maldev was the most powerful ruler after the Sultan of Delhi in northern India at the time. In six years he had brought the whole of Rajputana under one "umbrella", and established Rathod supremacy over the whole land. He was at this time, negotiating with Humayun, his ambition being to hold the exiled emperor as an important pawn in the political game against Sher Shah. So in 1542, Sher Shah sent an army to press on Maldev to prevent him from giving assistance to Humayun. Maldev submitted. But when Sher Shah detected

Sher Shah and Maldev
of Jodhpur.

his contumacy, he marched on Nagore. The Sultan captured that town and then besieged Merta, where a victory was obtained only by sending forged letters into the camp of the enemy. Then Ajmere, Abu, Chitor, and even Jodhpur surrendered to the invader. So Maldev had to submit.

Raja Kirit Singh, the chief of Kalanjar gave shelter to one Bundela robber chief. So Sher Shah besieged that strong fortress in November, 1544. The seige lasted very long. Sher Shah was on the point of entering the fort, when one bomb (*Hukka*) collided against the wall, redounded, and fell on the other bombs, all of which caught fire. Sher Shah himself was burnt half. The fort was taken. But the Sultan's burn proved fatal, May, 1545.

Before the time of Sher Shah, there was no provincial administration at all. The Sultans of Delhi divided their empire into a number of military fiefs, each of which was placed under the charge of an Amir, who was responsible for its civil and military administration. There were no official ties to link the central government with provincial administrations. The inevitable consequence was that the office of the fief-holder became a stepping-stone to that of the Sultan. Sher Shah completely over-hauled the whole provincial organization. He took the *Paragna*

as the unit of administration for his empire. For each *Paragna*, officers were appointed, who were known as *Shiqdars*, *Amins* and *Karkuns*. The number of the *Paragnas* is uncertain, although we have the testimony of the official historian of Akbar's reign; who credits Sher Shah with having divided his empire into forty-seven divisions. The *Shiqdar* was responsible for the peace and police arrangements of the *Paragna*; the *Amin* was responsible for revenue; collectively both were responsible for the whole administration. These *Paragnas* were grouped together into *Sirkars*. For each *Sirkar*, Sher Shah appointed a chief *Shiqdar-Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* and a chief *Munsiff-Munsiff-i-munsiffan*. The chief *Shiqdar* was responsible for the peace of the whole *Sirkar*. The *Munsiff* superintended the civil administration of the *Sirkar* and acted as a circuit judge. The *Sirkar* was the highest unit of administration in Sher Shah's time. Sher Shah abolished his predecessors' practice of creating big units for civil and military administration. He trained up a class of officers and created an administration, the frame-work of which lasted to the end of the Mussalman time.

Sher Shah abolished all intermediate officers of his predecessors in the army. The Army. and created an entirely different military organization, recruited and paid under the personal direction of the Sultan. A regular role

was kept of all soldiers. The practice of branding animals in the army was revived. Soldiers were paid in cash. Only those were promoted to higher military commands, who showed distinguished service in war. A special reserve force remained on the personal attendance of the Sultan. The whole army was divided into divisions, each under a Faujdar, whose duty was only military. An exception was however allowed in the case of frontier provinces, where the Faujdars acted as Shiqdars—viz—the civil and military administration of the border lands was left in the hands of the same officers. Spies were posted in every division and special officers were appointed to superintend the branding of animals. The army was constantly reviewed. Fatigued soldiers were sent back to peaceful provinces. The majority of the army of Sher Shah consisted of Hindus and many of them held very high posts—two Hindus, Brahmajit Gaur and Raja Ram Singh of Gwalior were his best generals. Officers changed every two years.

In the department of revenue, the Sultan gave effect to all the experience he had gained, when he was in independent charge of his father's *jagir* at Sahasram and when he worked as deputy-governor of Behar. Sher Shah introduced a uniform unit of measurement—the *gaz*—for land. The land was properly surveyed in *biahas* and the assessment

and other consideration. During time of famine, special remissions and concessions were allowed to peasants. All assessments were annual. Waste lands were re-claimed to agriculture. Investigations were ordered into the holdings of all charitable institutions and a large part of land of doubtful alienation was converted into crown-land. Sher Shah collected the revenue through Mukadams-officers appointed and paid by the state. He was opposed to the creation of an intermediate class of revenue-collectors, known in later days as Zamindars and Talukdars.

At the time of Sher Shah's accession to the throne of Delhi, specie was very scarce and the metal in the official coinage was very much debased. He therefore, re-constructed the whole currency of the empire.

Coinage.

He established about twenty-three provincial mints at important places, for instance, at Delhi, Kanauj, Bakkhar, etc. He issued a copper-coin called the *dam* with subdivisions into half, quarter, eighth and sixteenth parts. He coined excellent pieces in gold, silver and copper with fixed standards in weight and fineness, such as Dinars, Mohors, etc. He fixed the metallic contents of the rupee. These currency reforms were completed by the great Akbar. But the principles were those which were once fixed by Sher Shah and they are the foundations of the Indian currency-system of the present time.

Sher Shah did away with all internal customs and collected duties only on frontiers. Merchants and travellers were absolutely safe on the highways. Officers were prevented from exploiting the trading classes in the matter of prices of articles of common use. Sher Shah improved the communications of the empire. Agra was chosen as the centre of roads, which ran to Dacca and the Indus, to Burhanpur, Jodhpur, Lahore and Multan. These roads were of great strategic value. They were protected on the two sides by shady trees. All along them, the Sultan built *Sarais* or caravansaries at the distance of every four miles with separate and free kitchens for Hindus and Mussalmans. Horses were kept at these places ready for exchange for the onward journey.

Commerce and
Transport.

The Sarais functioned as so many *dakchawkis* and rest-houses. Flourishing market towns arose round them.

The Shiqdar was the chief police-officer of

the province. Jails of the present type did not exist; but

Police, Justice, etc.

there were forts, where state prisoners were kept. Sher Shah built strong fortresses throughout the empire and especially on the western frontier. Shergadh or Bukkhar in Sindh, Rhotas on the Jhelem, Chunar in south Behar, were the most well-furnished and strongly built forts. It was Sher Shah's intention to have one good fort in every Sirkar. Peace was seldom disturbed. The Sultan's writ was respected by the robber, the highwayman and the trader, the old and the decrepit, equally. Sher Shah's government was a military despotism and he ruled with iron hand.

Sher Shah lies buried in an unusually splendid piece of architecture at

Sher Shah as a builder.

Sahasram. His tomb is almost comparable to the famous Taj

at Agra. Sher Shah built a fine mosque at Delhi. Humayun's library near it is still known as the Sher Mandal.

Sher Shah's daily life was very regular. His

Sher Shah's place in Indian history.

justice was stern and impartial, not sparing even his own sons. He was very kind and sympath-

etic to the poor and helpless; but his iron hand fell heavily on the revolted and the oppressor. A great leader of men, cool and collected in adversity, a master of strategy, free from fanaticism, not disdaining to stoop to treachery when need for it grew hard upon him, he was the image of the enlightened despot of the eighteenth century European state-system. He had a great genius for administration and war. Of course, in the reforms which he carried out in the administrative system of [Hindustan, he did not originate a single institution; he borrowed the *dagh* or branding institution and the practice of direct recruitment in the army from Alauddin Khilji. The institutions of the *dak chawki* and the *Sarai* and the principles of the settlement of the land tax were as old as the Aryan rule in India. But what redounds to his credit is that he saw the need for a complete re-construction of the system round him and he carried it out, despite the fact that he was busy all throughout the five years of his reign with arduous military campaigns. It is rather an exaggerated compliment to Sher Shah to say of him that "he relaxed the rigour of the Mahomedan law-code" and that "he was the first who attempted to found an Indian empire broadly based upon the peoples' will." Of course, he had not Akbar's versatility. He did not experiment in religion; nor did he dabble in literature and poetry. He did not

persecute the Hindus in the name of religion, but he did not also abolish the *Jaziya*. His mild treatment of the Hindus did not follow from the great rational understanding that religion was a matter of one's conscience. It was rather the result of a cool and calculated policy—Sher Shah was as great a master of political as of military strategy. He was not the nation-builder of India, as so many make him out. Still, he was the only Afghan ruler, who understood the arts of peace and war and who, in the midst of environment hostile to toleration and sympathy, established and kept up a stern and courageous but generous rule. He renounced the worn-out traditions of the rotten Afghan monarchy and drafted liberally on his own personal experience to purify and energise it. This was his real greatness and it was no small one. Unfortunately for his family and race, he got the sceptre too late in his life and was called away to renounce it too early in his reign. And Sher Shah was not blind to it.

Sher Shah's reign was a revolutionary departure from the time-honoured but therefore destructive practices of the feudal and elective monarchy of the Afghans. He despised and therefore abandoned the custom of territorial assignment to big Sirdars and officers. He discarded the policy of feudal decentralization. He gathered in his own hands the full powers of the state. In the art of

war, Sher Shah's generalship was an epoch-making event. He brought into the battle-field a scientific imagination, a bold but well-conceived strategy, a centralized command, a knowledge of how and when to strike the enemy, rapidity in marches and caution in retreats, artillery, frontier defences, etc. effective points which the clumsy organization of the Afghans had not known before, except during the days of Alauddin Khilji.

CHAPTER VI.

Successors of Sher Shah.

Sher Shah left two sons, Adil and Jalal, of whom Jalal was proclaimed Sultan as Islam Shah. The elder brother, Adil Khan, was supported by many distinguished Amirs. But being a man of ease and comfort, he was forced to salute his younger brother as sovereign and retire to Biana. The Sultan chased his brother even there and Adil, defeated and pursued, was treacherously killed. The reign of Islam Shah was chiefly occupied with the revolts of the Amirs and the persecution of the leader of the Mahadavi movement, Shaikh Alai. He died, November, 1554.

Islam Shah was succeeded by his son, Firoz, a boy of 12 years. So the administration of the empire passed into the hands of his mother, Bibibai and her

Firoz Sur.

brother Mubariz Khan, children of Nizam, Sher Shah's brother. But Firoz did not live long. He was murdered in the very presence of his mother by the unscrupulous Mubariz, who became Sultan Adili Shah.

Adili Shah was a worthless voluptuary. He squandered away the riches of the state. But he found out in Hemu, a military contractor and a Bania by caste, a minister and great commander, who rose to the first position in the state by sheer abilities. Rebellions broke out in different parts of the kingdom. Ahmed Khan Sur or Mansur Khan, husband of the Sultan's sister, proclaimed himself emperor as Sikandar Shah Sur in the Punjab. But he was defeated by Humayun at Sirhind in 1555 and he retired to the hills. Ibrahim Khan Sur, husband of another sister of the Sultan, became paramount in Bengal. Adili retreated to Jaunpur. In the meantime Humayun's general, Tardibeg, entered Delhi. So Adili's minister, Hemu, besieged that city and compelled the Mughal commander to surrender it to him. Hemu now assumed the title of *Vikramajit*, struck coin in his name, and advanced against Prince Akbar and Bairam who held the Punjab on behalf of Humayun, now dead. Hemu even vowed to turn Muslim if he triumphed over the Mughals. But he was defeated and slain at Panipat, 1556. Akbar beca-

the emperor soon after. Sikandar Sur submitted himself to him and accepted a *Jagir*. Adili was killed in fighting against a son of the Sultan of Bengal. Yet the Afghans were hopeful. They raised Adili's son as Sher Shah II to the office of the Sultan. But Akbar's general, Khan Zaman, defeated him. So he and his followers became Fakirs. Several Afghans accepted service under Akbar. Others became political refugees in the kingdoms of Bengal and Gujarat. The Sur dynasty came to an unhappy end and the Mughals once more became rulers of India.

CHAPTER VII.

Akbar, 1556-1605.

The Establishment of the Empire.

Now we take up the reign of one of the most illustrious rulers of the world and the luckiest and most versatile of the Mughal dynasty. Akbar, "the pride and ornament of his age" was born on the full moon day in November, 1542, at Umarkot and was named Badruddin Muhammad Akbar. Four years later, the name was changed to Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, by which he is known in history. He was first left in charge of Mirza Askari at Kandahar. Then he was sent to Afghanistan under the care of a sister of Babar.

Kamran was in possession of Kabul and he had the hardihood of once exposing Akbar's body to cannonade, when the city was being bombarded by Humayun's artillery. Soon Humayun became master of Afghanistan and he made special efforts to give a liberal education to his son. But Akbar did not show any noteworthy inclination to learn. In 1551 the *jagir* of Gazni was bestowed upon him and he was betrothed to the daughter of Hindal, his deceased uncle. In 1555, he accompanied Humayun in his expedition against Sikandar Sur. The Afghans were defeated. Akbar was left in charge of the province of the Punjab while Humayun proceeded to Delhi, where he died. So Akbar was crowned emperor at Kalanaur in the Punjab, February, 1556.

Times were hard when Akbar mounted the throne. He was as yet a boy of thirteen and had to rely on Akbar's critical position. the counsel and experience of men, whose interests and views never agreed and who were not renowned for selfless devotion. Uzbeks, Turks, Afghans, Persians and Mughals—these were the races of which his army and his ill-arranged administration were made up. The Indian Afghans were strong in Oudh, Behar, Bengal, Gujarat and Malwa. The last Sur remained still to be driven away. The rulers of Rajputana and the vast Hindu population of the land did not know whom to choose between

the two parties now competing for supremacy in the land, the tried and proved wanting Afghans or the untried and uncertain Mughals. Afghanistan was in the almost independent charge of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's step-brother, a minor and under the care of his mother. Lastly there was the large, well-paid and well-led army of the Bania Vazir of Adili Shah Sur, Hemu, who was marching in full speed to meet, defeat, and expel the victorious but small Mughal army from the Punjab. Thus the boy-emperor of thirteen was called upon to face a situation, made desperate by his own minority, the disunion amongst his officers and commanders, the strength of the enemy and the uncertainty of the political situation in India and his own rear, Afghanistan. We shall see below, how he steered clear of all of them one by one, and by pluck, courage, conciliation and sometimes harshness established for himself, his dynasty and Indians a polity, which was the envy of the world then, which was the glory and pride of his successors and which still lives in the memory of Indians.

Bairam Khan, the Protector, sent small parties in pursuit of Sikandar Shah

Battle of Panipat.

Mughal Victory.

Sur and himself advanced in the direction of Delhi, which had already fallen to Hemu. Tardi Beg who had surrendered the fort to Hemu was ordered to be

executed by the Regent, because jealousy had sprung up between the two and because the regent intended to make his fate an example to the vacillating nobles of the state. Then Bairam and Akbar meet Hemu at Panipat. Hemu had 15,000 cavalry, 51 guns and 500 elephants. He was, as Abu Fasl says, "a most excellent servant and he had a lofty spirit. Fortune had favoured him enormously in the multitude of tried soldiers, a number of able officers, the plenty of artillery and power of elephants. His artillery had nothing like it except in Turkey." The two armies met in November, 1556. The action was stubbornly fought. Hemu, being wounded in the eye, fell unconscious in his *zorda* and the driver of his elephant was captured along with the beast and master. The captive was brought before Akbar, who refused to strike him, saying, he was as good as dead because "sensation and activity had left him." Then Bairam Khan severed Hemu's head from the body. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors. The action of Panipat was a decisive victory. The Mughals once more became masters of India. A great famine raged in the neighbourhood for two years after this and the scarcity of corn was so great that men took to eating one another.

Delhi was soon occupied. The Afghans fled away. But they were pursued Reduction of the Alghans.	and conquered, Sikandar Sur
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surrendered and Akbar gave him *jagirs* in the province of Bihar, 1557. Agra, Gwalior, Sambhal, Jaunpur, Chunar and other forts were captured from the servants of the Sur dynasty and with the defeat of Sher Shah II, Adili Shah's son at Jaunpur, the Afghan danger came to an end.

Bairam Khan was a Turko-man and a subject of Persia. His services

Protectorate of Bairam Khan. were lent by the Shah of Persia to Babar. Bairam served that emperor and Humayun faithfully. During the exile of Humayun, he acted as his chief adviser. Now the sceptre of India had devolved upon a boy-prince. Naturally the Turko-man, upon whom Humayun had bestowed the title of Khan-i-Khanan or chief Amir, became the lord-protector. He was married to Salima Sultan Begum, a daughter of Babar's daughter.

Bairam Khan was a good and generous man; but being susceptible to flattery, jealousy, and violence of temper, he roused the resentment of the Amirs, and specially the mother and chief nurse of Akbar, Hamida Banu Begum and Maham Anga. Bairam Khan's treatment of Tardi Beg and others made him very unpopular. He gathered round him many unworthy flatterers and friends. The Khan-i-Khanan did not show sufficient respect and regard even to the emperor and his needs. So in 1560, Akbar left his protection at Agra and

went to Delhi to meet his sick mother under the pretence of hunting. Orders were issued from that place removing Bairam Khan and his party from office. He was asked to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. But his friends gave him the evil advice to stir up strife in the Punjab. So he was pursued and defeated and compelled to apologize. At Lahore, the Khan-i-Khanan was received with great kindness by Akbar, who provided him with an escort to lead him to Surat, whence he was to go to Mecca. But when he reached Patan in Gujarat, he was killed by his Afghan servant whose father Bairam had killed in the battle of Sirhind. Bairam Khan's widow became Akbar's wife and his son Abdur Rahim became the great Mirza Khan-i-Khanan; governor of Gujarat and commander-in-chief.

But the removal of Bairam Khan did not bring any great improvement in the situation. Akbar had only changed masters. He was still busy with pigeon-flying and animal hunting. Of course, he was slowly recovering to himself the powers of the state. But the administration was in the hands of an unscrupulous and incompetent party, whose members traded upon the weakness and want of experience of the dowager empress and the chief nurse. The officers enriched their own pockets, and the poor emperor was once refused the modest pocket expense of Rs. 18 even. This junto

Government of
the Bibis.

mismanaged the foreign policy of the state in Malwa and Gondavan. Adham Khan, Maham Anga's son, once killed Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan, the Vazir, in the palace. The emperor was awakened from sleep by the resultant uproar. The murderer was prepared even to attempt the imperial life. But Akbar hurled him headlong and insensible on the floor. Then he was ordered to be thrown away from the top of the terrace till he died. Adham's mother, the chief nurse, died soon after. Hamida Banu's influence was destroyed when her half-brother, Khwaja Azam, was executed for killing his wife. Akbar was now free from the influence of the harem. By this time, he had gathered round him a small circle of able, experienced and loyal officers, some of whom were drafted from an entirely new field, e. g. Raja Bihari Mal....

Malwa was the legitimate possession of Akbar

because he had succeeded to all
 Conquest of Malwa. the conquered and protected provinces of the Sur dynasty. In 1561, the government of the province was in the hands of an Afghan officer, Baz Bahadur, a drunkard and musician. He refused to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty. Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan were sent against him. They defeated Baz Bahadur. But they committed unpardonable atrocities, and refused to give an account of their conduct and the spoils of the victory to the emperor. It was in the course of this victory that

the famous Rupamati, Baz Bahadur's slave-girl, poisoned herself when Adham Khan sent agents to capture her. Baz Bahadur fled towards Burhanpur and tempted away Pir Muhammad to fight against him. Pir Muhammad was drowned in the Narbada. Baz Bahadur fled to the frontiers of Gujarat and then to Chitor. He submitted at Nagore in 1570. Malwa now became a province of the empire.

Gondavan was that tract of central India, to the north of which was Panna, to the east Ranthambhor, to the south Deccan and to the west Raisin. It was a very flourishing principality, ruled by a Rajput prince, Vira Narayan, whose mother, Rani Durgavati, brave and able, commanded 20,000 cavalry and 1000 elephants, and was mistress of great wealth. An Amir of Akbar, Asaf Khan, attacked her territory on the flimsy ground that a nobleman of Adili Shah Sur had fled to her territories. Rani Durgavati was defeated at Mandla. But she cut herself to pieces, rather than retreat. Her son, Vira Narayan, died fighting. Her forts surrendered soon. Durgavati's sister and other Rajput girls were sent to the harem of Akbar.

Ali Kuli Khan Zaman, the conqueror of Sher Shah II, his brother Bahadur Khan, and Asaf Khan, the conqueror of Gondavan, now made common cause against Akbar in 1564, and refused

to give a clear account of the spoils they had obtained in their respective campaigns. Their rebellion spread over the provinces of Jaunpur, Oudh and Behar. The emperor, his two best generals Munim Khan and Raja Todar Mall, and others were kept engaged by them for full three years, and the seriousness of their revolt was increased by the help they received from the Sultan of Bengal. But they were defeated and dispersed and their followers were pardoned. Khan Zaman was killed in a fight. Bahadur Khan was captured and executed. The Sultan of Bengal agreed to read the *Khutba* and coin money in Akbar's name.

Thus Akbar had quelled his Afghan enemies and his rebellious Amirs. Now he

Rebellion of the
Mirzas.

was called upon to deal with a situation which was the creation of his own kinsmen, the Mirzas, and which threatened even his throne. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, a descendant of Timur, was a Jagirdar in Sambhal. His five sons revolted and attacked Delhi but were opposed by Munim Khan. So they proceeded southwards and seized the important forts of Ujjain, Hindia, etc. in Malwa. When the imperial armies were sent against them, they fled to the kingdom of Gujarat, 1567-1568. One of the Mirzas, Ibrahim Khan, separated himself from his party and after wandering into northern Gujarat, the Punjab and Sambhal, was captured and killed. Others had very

eventful careers in Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan and their fortunes had great results on the political history of India under Akbar. In fact the conquests of Gujarat and the Deccan were undertaken by Akbar to defeat the plans of his rebellious kinsmen.

The Rajputs under Rana Sangram Singh were defeated by Babar. Sher Akbar and the Rajputs. Shah defeated Maldev of Jodhpur and established strong military posts in Rajputana. But on the confusion, which followed after the death of Sultan Islam Shah Sur, several Rajput rulers possessed themselves of important points of 'vantage. Akbar expected them to acknowledge his suzerainty and all of them except the Rana of Chitor submitted themselves to the inevitable under more or less military pressure. The Chief of the royal family of Amber, Kachchva Raja Bihari Mal, was the first to understand the spirit of the age. He made peace with the young emperor by interceding at Narnol and asking its commandant, a slave of Sher Shah, to surrender the fort to Akbar. When Delhi fell, Bihari Mal's son, Raja Bhagvandas, attracted Akbar's notice by his bravery. In 1561, Bihari Mal's daughter was married to Akbar and later on, Bhagvandas' son, Man Singh, was exalted to a high rank in the state-service. Gwalior was surrendered by Raja Ram Singh. Rai Surjan Hada, after a protracted negotiation and

siege, gave up Ranthambhor, which he had seized for the Rana of Chitor from a servant of Salim Shah, 1564-69. Raja Ramchand ceded Kalanjar and Panna, and sent the famous master of music, Tan Sen, to the court, 1567-69. Jaimal and Devidas, officers of Maldev of Marwar, ceded Mertha and Chandra Sen, son of Maldev, accepted the suzerainty. In course of time, Bikanair, Sirohi, Idar, Dungarpur, Vansvara and Orchha in Bundelkhand accepted the overlordship of Akbar. Only Mewar remained obdurate.

When we remember the peaceful recognition of Akbar's suzerainty by the royal family of Amber and its earliest marriage-connection with the emperor, we can sufficiently understand the causes of the great influence which its members commanded at the court. The greatest officers did not show such political sagacity, adaptation and loyalty, secrets of official recognition.

We saw above that the object of Akbar's military pressure upon the Raja Akbar and Mewar was that they should acknowledge him as their overlord and state-craft required that that should be done as peacefully as possible. But the Rana of Chitor persistently refused to do it. He harboured Jaimal, the Rathod chieftain from Mertha, and gave protection to Baz Bahadur, the rebel of Malwa. His feudatory, Rai Surjan, held Ranthambhor. His

brother, Suket Singh, once abruptly left the camp of Akbar. So the emperor made up his mind to chastise the Sisodia Maharana Udai Singh of Chitor. The campaign began in 1567. Chitor was besieged in October. The Rana fled away. But the defence was ably organized by Jaimal and his party. Akbar had very powerful artillery with him. The walls were ordered to be blown up. But the garrison refused to surrender. One night, the face of Jaimal, the leader of the fort, was lighted up by the firing of a cannon. Akbar at once shot him dead. Next day, the Rajputs performed the *Jauher*; the fort was taken, but not before 30,000 men lay dead in the streets, February, 1573. Abul Fazl gives a lurid picture of the fight.

"No one ever saw such battle,

Nor ever heard from the experienced;

What shall I say of that battle and engagement?

I could not mention one item out of a hundred-thousand."

As Tod 'says: "Horse could not stand in the mire of slaughter till sword hilt and spear butt were too slippery with blood to be longer held "

Udai Singh fled to the Aravalli hills and founded modern Udaipur. He died in 1572, and was succeeded by his celebrated son, "the Sun of the Hindus," Rana Pratap, who carried on a guerilla warfare and an unequal fight till he drew his last breath in 1597, with the help of his fearless Sirdars, and the celebrated Jain minister, Bhama Shah,

who emptied out their blood and money in the desperate defence of their home-land. Armies after armies were moved against the Rana by Akbar under the commandership of men of his own race without any avail. In 1576, Raja Man Singh was sent. The armies met at Haldighat, June, 1576. "The swords of the Rajputs, the brave twenty thousand, in the beginning, swept off heads and arms of the enemies...In the dust and the turmoils, in the thickest of the swaying throng, the Rana on his war-horse "Chetuk" slew and slew, ever seeking to cut his way where Man Singh rode beside the heir to the throne of Akbar....." His followers fought like fiends. but they had lost heavily and the superior number of their enemies began to tell. Pratap fled away. His retreat towards Kumbhalner was covered by a faithful few, all of whom were overpowered till Pratap could easily escape the pursues. The action was fought near the defile of Devri, where Badayuni was present. He extolled Man Singh's excellent generalship.

"A Hindu wields the sword of Islam. The air was like a furnace and no power or movement was left in the soldiers, so fierce was the Rajput blockade.

The fort of Gogunda fell to the victors. This was the most illustrious part of the protracted campaign. It is needless to detail its progress any further. Suffice it to say that Maharana Pratap did not accept the suzerainty of the Great Mughal

nor did he agree to send his son to attend upon him; even the proposal to accept a nominal vassalage was proudly spurned by him.

The Rajput offensive of Akbar is universally misunderstood on account of its rhapsodical characterisation by the celebrated historian of Rajasthan and its people, Colonel Tod. But it is indeed a bad historical perspective, an unfair reading of Akbar's character, and an unjust censure of the motives of Bhagvandas, Man Singh, and Todar Mall to say that they were actuated in their work by lust of conquest and annexation and thirst for blood, or that the Rajput allies of the emperor only desired to compel upon the unwilling house of Mewar a marriage alliance with his dynasty. As Count Von Noer has observed, "The Rajputs aided Muslim rebels or protected necessitous Rajputs, so that a new focus of conspiracy was formed partly within, partly without, the Empire...They marauded from their strong hill castles upon Mughal territory and interrupted communications; if pursued, they found ample shelter in the impracticable defiles of their mountains. As long as the audacious Rajputs niched on the rocky heights of Malwa, endangering the transit of imperial troops and plundering travellers and caravans or levying black-mail on their passage and goods, so long assured possession of the country was out of the question. The direct road to the

Narbada valley and the Deccan lay through the country in which the Rajputs were located as guards of the frontier. Their lands were a gateway, of which it was imperative to wrest the key from their charge and that key was Mewar." Still the defence of Mewar by Pratap and his people shed an undying glory upon the Rajput name.

Gujarat was once conquered by Humayun.

Conquest
of Gujarat.

Akbar could therefore claim it as his own. The political condition of Gujarat on the eve of its conquest was "organised or constituted anarchy." As the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, Ali Muhammad Khan, said: "The cause of the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar was the animosity of its nobles, assisted by rebellious subjects, whose mutiny and endeavours reverted on themselves". Its Sultan, Muzaffar Shah III, was only an equal amongst equals, while the whole kingdom was divided between him and his very powerful nobles. Ahmedabad and Cambay were held by Itimad Khan, the Vazir; Surat, Broach, Baroda and Champaner by Chingiz Khan, a generous patron of learning; Junagadh by Amir Khan Ghorî, and Dhandhuka and Dholka by Sayyad Hamid. These nobles fought amongst themselves for power and influence. So Itimad Khan invited Akbar to save him from ruin. Many Afghans like Baz Bahadur and others were sheltered by Sher Khan, the fief-holder of Patan.

The revolted Mirzas had got possession of Broach, Surat and Champaner. At this very time, insurrections broke out in Bengal and on the north-west frontier. So the conquest of Gujarat became a political necessity to Akbar. In September, 1572, he marched to the succour of Itimad Khan, the Gujarati Vazir. At Patan, the Gujarati nobles submitted. Sultan Muzaffar was taken prisoner; and in November, the emperor entered the capital, Ahmedabad. It was in the course of this campaign that Akbar fought the celebrated and desperate action of Sarnal in the Thasra Taluka of Gujarat, even risking his life, against Ibrahim Mirza with success. The other Mirzas were driven away from the province. Aziz Koka was made Subedar. Southern Gujarat was left in charge of Itimad-ud-dawla and his party. But they proved incompetent. As Abul Fazl observed: "Timidity, deceit and falsehood were mixed up with a little honesty and made into a paste to which the name of Gujarati was given." No sooner was Akbar off to Sikri, his capital, than insurrections broke out all over the land under the leadership of Husain Mirza, who seized Broach and Cambay, the Raja of Idar, and other leading Gujaratis. Akbar learnt this and with extraordinary haste appeared before the gates of Ahmedabad in eleven days from Fatehpur Sikri—a remarkable feat of military marching. Muhammad Husain Mirza and

his 20,000 men were surprised, defeated and dispersed by Akbar with 3000 men only on the banks of the Sabarmati under the very walls of Ahmedabad. Akbar appointed Raja Todar Mall to regulate the revenues of the province while Mirza Khan, son of Bairam Khan, was made Subedar. The influence of the Mirzas was extinguished and their rebellion was over. But Gujarat continued seething with sedition. The disaffected soldiers, the Kathis of Kathiawar, the Jam of Navanagar and Amir Khan Ghorī of Junagadh joined Muzaffar and he was once more crowned as Sultan in 1582. The Mughals almost lost the whole province. Akbar was at this time engaged in the Kabul campaign. But on his return to India, he made supreme arrangements for the suppression of the rebellion. Muzaffar was driven away. Junagadh was captured. The Jam was defeated. The ex-sultan of Gujarat, finding no succour, went to Bet, the last extremity of Kathiawar, and thence to Cuchch. But Aziz Koka and Nizamuddin Bakshi, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* sent parties even there. So the Rao of Cuchch delivered over the person of the Sultan to the Imperialists in exchange for Morbi. The rebellion in Gujarat was over. But its end was very tragic. Sultan Muzaffar † was being taken to the emperor by the returning force, when near Dhrol in Kathiawar,

† Sultan Muzaffar has suffered much at the hands of his

he pretended to retire to a call of nature and there committed suicide with a razor, which he always used to keep with himself, 1593.

The conquest of Gujarat had great results. The province opened up vast sources of revenue. Akbar came into contact with the Portuguese government of Goa. He got first-hand information about Christian, Jain and Zoroastrian creeds through their priests, who were invited to Sikri. And lastly, the revenue settlement of Gujarat and the splendid architecture of its mosques and temples became so many patterns for imitation and adaptation in northern India.

<p>Sulaiman Karrani, the Sultan of Bengal, who had acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty, died in 1572. After some trouble, his younger son Daud</p>	<p>Khan was installed as Sultan with the help of a powerful and sagacious minister, Lodi by name. But Daud was a dissolute scamp and he soon fell out with his own benefactor. Munim Khan, Akbar's governor of the eastern provinces, was approached by the disaffected party for help. So Munim Khan, Raja Todar Mall, and finally Akbar himself</p>
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enemies. He maintained an unequal fight against splendid resources for full twenty years with great resolution, energy, acuteness, and patience. Gujarat has found no sympathetic historian, Hindu, Mahomedan, or European, and her last Sultan died unsung, unwept, and is forgotten now.

started for the east, June, 1574. Daud was very powerful; he had 50,000 cavalry, 1,50,000 infantry and 3600 elephants, besides artillery of very great strength. Still in 1575, Tanda, the capital of Bengal, was entered by Munim Khan. Daud fled to Orissa. But the imperial forces being very weak, Daud plucked up courage, issued out of Orissa and faced his enemy at Turkoī or Mughalmari, March, 1575, where a great fight took place for full three days ending in victory for the invader. Daud fled to Kattak where he signed an agreement in April, 1575, acknowledging Akbar's suzerainty. But a severe plague carried away the general, Munim Khan. Akbar therefore sent Khan Jahan and Raja Todar Mall. Daud was defeated and killed in July, 1579. It seemed as if the annexation of Bengal was complete. But disappointment followed soon.

In 1580, Akbar was faced with a very serious situation. In Behar his officers tactlessly enforced the regulations about drilling and review of troops and branding of animals. This created resentment in the minds of local Zamindars. The contagion of revolt spread to the province of Bengal, where the governor applied the new measures relentlessly and ill-treated and even tortured several local officers. To crown the mischief the new revenue minister, Khwaja Mansur, ordered reductions in increments recently granted to soldi-

Rebellion in Behar
and Bengal.



It will be remembered that Akbar's half brother, Mirza Hakim, was in independent charge of Afghanistan and that the Uzbek leaders who had broken out in revolt against the emperor in Sambhal and Jaunpur, had once declared for him. That had greatly emboldened him. So when insurrections were rife in Gujarāt, Behār, Bengal, and Malwa, he crossed the Indus and advanced as far as Lahore. Akbar sent Rājā Man Singh against him and then he himself started with a formidable army. On hearing of the emperor's approach,

Muhammad Hakim's
invasion of India.

Hakim retreated. Akbar sent Prince Murad in pursuit of him. Mirza Hakim fled away to Badakshan and Akbar entered Kabul in triumph. The Mirza soon returned home and made submission. After his death Afghanistan became a part of the Indian empire and was ruled from Delhi. An exact account of this campaign is obtained from the records bequeathed to us in the *Commentary of Father Montserrat*, the Jesuit preacher, who accompanied Akbar to the western frontier.

It was in the course of the Afghan campaign that Khwaja Mansur, once an accountant in the perfume department and subsequently Vazir, was executed for sedition in February, 1581, in the Punjab. The Khwaja had alienated the sympathy of the court by his policy of retrenchment, meticulous interference and cupidity. The execution was ordered by Akbar on the evidence of certain letters which were subsequently discovered to have been forged by the victim's enemies. Akbar repented of it afterwards.

While Akbar was returning home from Kabul, the leader of the Roshanai sect, Jalal, left the court and killed the local officer. So Zain Khan Kokaltash was sent against them. The enemy collected 30,000 horse. Zain Khan fought twenty-three battles, destroyed seven armies

The Usalzais. Defeat and death of Raja Birbal.

and built several forts. Still, the rebellion was not completely crushed. So Akbar sent his favourite, Raja Birbal, and Hakim Abul Fath. But they quarrelled among themselves. Near Mount Bulandair after a desperate fight of two days, the Raja's section was cut off from the main army. He himself was fiercely attacked by the enemy and the whole army of 8000 men was destroyed, 1585-86. The death of the Raja and the defeat of the army greatly afflicted Akbar. Raja Man Singh and Raja Todar Mall kept the Usafzais under control by occasional fights and specially by raising a series of military posts or *thanas* between the Indus and Kabul.

The Baluchi chiefs made submission to Akbar.	and Baluchistan was annexed in 1595.
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<p>Conquest of Kashmir.</p> <p>Ali Chuk, the Sultan of Kashmir, died while playing polo in 1578. So there was scramble for succession between rival candidates. One of them, Yusuf, appealed to Raja Man Singh, who installed him on the throne. But he and his sons refused to continue in the government of Kashmir as peaceful feudatories of Akbar. So armies were sent against them and they were brought under subjection. The final conquest of Kashmir was carried out in 1592 by Akbar himself in a campaign of fifty-two days.</p>	
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The ruler of Thatha had received Akbar's help against the chief of Bakh-
 Annexation of Sindh, Orissa and Kandahar. ar and the Mirzas of Kandahar as early as 1551. The ruler of lower Sindh had accepted Akbar's religion. After his death a complicated womanly intrigue, in the details of which it is not necessary to enter here, resulted in the annexation of Bakhar and lower Sindh in 1591.

Orissa was annexed by Man Singh in 1593. Muzaffar Hussain, the Persian governor of Kandahar, gave up Kandahar voluntarily to Akbar in 1595.

The Deccan was divided at this time between the four Mussalman kingdoms of Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Goalkonda and the small Hindu Kingdom of Penukonda to the south of the Tungabhadra, successor of the great empire of Vijayanagar. The Muslim kingdoms exchanged envoys with the Mughal empire almost every year. The ruler of Khandesh had even given a daughter of his in marriage to Akbar. But the conquest of Gujarat and the rebellion of the Mirzas disturbed these amicable relations between them. The Mirzas and their followers escaped to the south and found at its various courts happy homes and easy opportunities for conspiracy. Besides, the Sultan of Ahmednagar imprisoned his younger brother, Burhan Shah, who escaped to

The Deccan. Campaign against Ahmednagar. Chand Bibi.

Akbar along with many distinguished officers. They lived in the north as Akbar's Jagirdas. In 1588 Murtuza Shah of Ahmednagar was murdered by his son who became Sultan. But his succession was contested by other candidates of whom Burhan Shah was now the most important, as he had the support of Akbar. Burhan promised Berar to the Mughals and he agreed to acknowledge Akbar as suzerain. So Akbar sent him to his native land of which he became master in 1590. But after becoming Sultan Burhan Shah refused to carry out the terms of his agreement with the emperor. So Akbar sent Abul Faizi, his friend and poet-laureate, to him as envoy. His embassy had no effect. So in 1595 Prince Murad was sent with a strong force and the viceroys of Gujarat and Malwa were instructed to help him if necessary. The prince besieged Ahmednagar, which was ably defended by the celebrated Chand Bibi, Burhan's sister, who had assumed charge of administration on her brother's death. Four parties competed for chief power at the capital and Chand Bibi could not offer a very effective defence of the fort. Peace was therefore signed by the defending party. Bahadur Shah, grandson of Burhan Shah, became Sultan under the suzerainty of Akbar, who obtained Berar. But the treaty was soon broken and Akbar again sent an army to invade Ahmednagar. The Sultan was helped by the friendly rulers of Bijapur and Goalkonda.

But he was defeated at Ashti in January, 1597, by the Mughals who numbered only 15,000 against 60,000.

The next three years were taken up by the siege of Asirgadh and the campaign in Khandesh. When Akbar was free he once more launched his great and now the last attack upon the fort of Ahmednagar. Prince Daniyal was placed in command of the operations this time. The garrison was divided against itself. Chand Bibi counselled peace. But her enemies desired war. So she was murdered. Even then the fort could not be saved. It fell in August, 1601. By a treaty the Sultan parted permanently with the province of Berar in exchange for Ahmednagar.

Great eulogies are lavished on Chand Bibi. Of masculine energy, a born leader of mankind, adept in statecraft, a wonderful organiser of the army, selfless and shrewd, she stands peerless in the history of the Deccani Sultanates. As Noer said, "When Englishmen fled before the Maid of Orleans, they railed at her for a witch; the discomfited Mughals praised with enthusiasm the Lady of Ahmednagar and respectfully honoured her with the title of *Chand Sultan*." Embassies were sent to the kingdoms of Akbar and other Deccan powers. Ibrahim Adil Shah, the Sultan of

Bijapur, accepted Akbar's suzerainty, agreed to pay tribute and gave his daughter to Daniyal in marriage. The Bijapuri princess was accompanied by the celebrated historian, Muhammad Kasim Firista, to her husband's home. Akbar received embassies from Kochin.

Raja Ali Khan, ruler of Khandesh, had always professed great friendship to

Siege of Asirgadh Annexation of Khandesh.

Akbar. He is said to have once observed that he would salute

thousand times on the mere mention of Akbar's name. He joined his forces with the Mughals in the latter's fight against the Bahmani kingdoms on the field of Ashti, January, 1597. The Mughals were victorious. But Raja Ali Khan, their friend, lost his life in fighting. His son, Bahadur Shah, reversed his father's wise policy and joined the state of Ahmednagar. He made great preparations to resist Akbar by strengthening his strongest fort, Asirgadh, with 100,000 animals, and 15000 artisans and stored in it large quantities of grain, oil, opium and immense artillery. Akbar ordered his generals to besiege Asirgadh and he himself encamped in front of it in April, 1600. The siege lasted up to January, 1601, and the fort was surrendered to the invader only when defence became hopeless, because a great pestilence had broken out in the city. After the reduction of Asirgadh, the state of Khandesh was made a provi-

nce of the empire, and the ruler, Bahadur Shah, was imprisoned. Abul Fazl became the first governor of the new province. Immense booty fell in the hands of Akbar, of which thirteen hundred pieces of artillery were the most valuable, as the Mughals were short of it and had even requested the Portuguese fathers to arrange for assistance in them from their government at Goa.

The late Mr. V. Smith accused Akbar of treachery and perfidy in his dealing with Bahadur Shah and the garrison, and Abul Fazl of falsehoods and suppression of truth in describing the operations of the seige. The Jesuit version is now given to us in a reliable form in English by Mr. C. H. Payne, who has subjected Mr. Smith's story to a critical examination. He argues that Mr. Smith was very imperfectly acquainted with the original. Again the account of the Fathers was based upon second-hand information. It should be remembered that V. Smith relied in this case more upon the account of Faizi Sirhindi than upon the *Akbar Nama*. Another evidence against V. Smith's unjust and contemptible allegations is forthcoming from an independent source, "the History of Gujarat"—*Zaffar-al-Wali*, written in the seventeenth century.

<p>Akbar's ambition knew no bounds. He</p> <p>Relations with other powers.</p>	<p>thought of conquering the whole Deccan. He had designs on</p>
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Badakshan and even Turan. He had made great military preparations to capture the western ports from the Portuguese. He received ambassadors from the rulers of Kashgar, Turan, and Persia and he had almost prepared to send envoys to Spain.

Akbar had three sons, Salim, Daniyal and

Murad. Salim was the eldest. But Salim's rebellion. he had developed the evil ha-

bit of drink. He was not on good terms with his brothers. He enjoyed the rank of a Mansabdar of 10,000, while they had held in recent years very important commands. So he felt jealous of them. He disliked Akbar's experienced friends like Abul Fazl. Once he was suspected of having poisoned the emperor. In 1599, Akbar asked him to proceed against the Rajputs of Mewar. But the prince wasted his time and sent Raja Man Singh there. At this time the imperial forces were engaged in the Deccan campaigns. Taking advantage of these conditions Salim revolted. He possessed himself of the provinces of Allahabad, Behar and Jaunpur, assumed the title of Padshah, and refused to accept his nomination as governor of Behar and Orissa. So Akbar returned to the north and sent for Abul Fazl from Khandesh for advice. Salim, afraid of the Shaikh's influence over his father, caused him to be way-laid and killed by Vir Singh Bundela, the chief of Orchha, in August, 1602.

Akbar felt bitterly the loss of his dearest tri-

end and the guilt of his son. But the statesman and father overcame the judge, and the prince was reconciled through the intercession of Hamida Banu Begum and Sultan Salima Banu by the end of 1604.

Signs were not wanting to indicate the approaching end of the reign of Akbar's death. and life of Akbar. His best friends, Abul Faizi, Abul Fazl, Shaikh Mubarak, Raja Bihari Mall, Bhagvandas and Todar Mall, had passed away. Prince Murad died of excessive drink in May 1599 in the Deccan. Hamida Banu Begum died, August, 1604 and Daniyal in the beginning of 1605. After a brief illness, Akbar also passed away in October, 1605. He was buried at Sikandra near Agra in a fine tomb, the grandeur of which so appealed to the German Count Von Noer that he was impelled to write his celebrated biography.

CHAPTER VIII.

Akbar's institutions, religion, and character
His place in Indian history.

The above pages noticed the political history of the reign of Akbar. It now remains to describe his character, his administration, his religion, and his friends, and then to evaluate his true place in Indian history.

The person and character of Akbar are described by Jahangir in his Memoirs and by

Christian missionaries in their Commentaries. They agree remarkably even in details. The following impression is left to us by the Christian Fathers: Father Montserat describes him in his *Commentaries* thus:—"He is of a stature and of a type of countenance, well-fitted to his royal dignity. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bandy legs, well-suited for horsemanship and a light brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards his right shoulder.His forehead is broad and open; his eyes so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea simmering in sunlight. His eye-lashes are very long. His eyebrows are not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely open as though in derision. Between the left nostril and the upper lip there is a mole. He shaves his beard but wears a moustache like a youth, who has not reached his manhood. He does not shave his hair which he gathers in his turban as a concession to Indian usage. He limps in his left leg though indeed he has never received any injury there. His body is exceedingly well-built and is neither too 'thin nor too stout. He is sturdy, hardy and robust. When he laughs, his face becomes almost distorted. His expression is tranquil, serene, open, full of dignity, and when he is angry, of awful majesty. It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all, who wish audience with him. He

endeavours to show himself pleasant spoken and affable rather than severe towards all who come to speak to him. His courtesy and affability attach him greatly to his people. He has an acute insight and shows much wise foresight both in avoiding dangers and in seizing favourable opportunities for carrying out his designs. He is greatly devoted to hunting. As he is somewhat of a morose disposition, he amuses himself with various games. He is very fond of strange animals, birds and...things. He can control the most mischievous elephants, horses and camels. He hardly drinks wine but he uses opium. Sometimes, he quarries stones himself, watches and practises the art of an artisan...He is a great patron of learning....He has an excellent judgment, very good memory and knows many subjects. He is ignorant of letters but he is able to expound difficult matters very clearly and lucidly. He gives his opinion very shrewdly and so appears very learned....He is very stern against offenders....He has great regard for right and justice in the affairs of government. He hates and punishes severely debauchery and adultery....He asks questions even without waiting for answers to previous ones."

Now we take up the administrative reforms of

Administration.

Akbar and first, the new theory
of kingship. In many respects,

Akbar followed and improved upon the salutary

precedents of his great predecessor, Sher Shah and he introduced new principles also. Sher Shah had abolished the theory of an elective Sultanate and consultation with a narrow council of nobles. Akbar persevered in these innovations. But he did more. He made the office of the emperor absolute, hereditary, symbolic of the majesty of the state, the source of all power and patronage, the dispenser of equal justice to all, the fountain of honour, offence against which was not only treasonable but also sinful, and suzerain of all Hindustan. The imperial writ ran with sacred and equal strength in all parts of the empire. The Turkish theory of kingship was not so universal, so divine, so majestic. Akbar's new kingship or *Padshahi* was essentially Indian. As Abul Fazl says in his preface, "The Emperor was the origin of all stability and possession—royalty was a light, emanating from God and a ray from the sun, the argument of the book of perfection, receptacle of all virtues, paternal love, a large heart, trust in God, prayer and devotion. Obedience to it was divine worship. The ceremonies of weighing, *Raksha-Bandhan*, *darshana* etc. all emanated from the same idea.

Akbar's system gave expression to another very important idea. The emperor was all-powerful. His empire should therefore be undivided and indivisible. Babar and Humayun spent

One Emperor,
One Empire.

almost a lifetime in asserting supremacy against kith and kin. Akbar read this important lesson in the annals of the Timurids, and he waged relentless war against the theory of a partition of the empire. He never divided his dominions with his brother, sons, or kinsmen. But the Mughals were slow to accept his theory. The death of an emperor was invariably a prelude to fratricidal intrigue and war."

Akbar's third great innovation was the institution of a new nobility. The very heterogenous constitution of Indian society facilitated his work. The rank and file of his nobles were drawn from Uzbeks, Turks, Persians, Afghans, Rajputs, Khattris, etc. The Rajputs were themselves great territorial chiefs with pedigrees going back into countless centuries. So the emperor, the lord of such a class, was invested with super-prerogatives.

Akbar's nobility was energetic, loyal, experienced in war, administration and state-craft, and certainly not hereditary. No member of it disputed rank and prerogative with the emperor and it muttered "Amen" to all that fell from the august lips of the great Shah-in-Shah. It was thus radically different from the one, which thronged in defiant and uproarious mood round the throne of Khilji Jalaluddin, Bahlol Lodi, Islam Shah Sur and Humayun.

The departments of the state in Akbar's time,
detailed in the *Ain-i-Akbari* did

Administration.

not fundamentally differ from those, given in the histories of earlier Mussalman rulers. Then as before, "Royalty received its final tint" *first* from the department of Vakil, the Regent, under whom were Mir Ma'l, officer in charge of the Privy Seal, Mir Bakshi, chief pay-master, Mir Arj-officer in charge of petitions, Kubegi or bearer of the imperial insignia, Mir Tozak-master of ceremonies, Mir Bahari, harbour master, Mir Barr, chief forest officer, Mir Manzil, quarter-master-general of the court, Khwan Salar, superintendent of the kitchen, Munshi or secretary, Kushbegi or Superintendent of the aviaries and Akhtbegi or superintendent of steeds; *secondly* from Vazir as Finance Minister, under whom worked Divan, Sahib-i-Tanjih, deputy Divan, Awarjah-navis, accountant, Mir Saman, superintendent of furniture, Nazir-i-bayutat, chief of the workshops, his Divan or accountant, Mushrif or clerk of the treasury, Khajanchi, Waqnis or recorder, and Amil or collector of revenues; *thirdly* from companions of the King, viz. Sadr or administrator-general of charities and chief justice, Kaji or judge, the Hakim or physician, the poet, etc. and *lastly* from the personal servants of the emperor, viz. table servant, etc.

The Vakil or Regent was as it were, the Chancellor of the empire. But his office was not

so important as that of the Vazir.

In 1583 Akbar created twelve special departments.

We describe the central government. The Shah-in-Shah or Emperor was of course its presiding genius. The *Vakil* or Regent looked after the empire in the absence of the emperor. The *Vazir* was chief finance-minister. The *Bakshi* was paymaster of the administration; he had under him assistants directly responsible to him all over the empire in all departments. The commander of forces or *Sipah-Salar* was one of the most important officers of the empire. He was looked upon as the vice-regent of the emperor, exercising powers of life and death and rights of a revenue and judicial officer even. The Mir Adil and chief Kaji were the first judicial officers of the state but their duties could not have been so detailed and regular as of the high court judges and legal remembrancer of our days, as gradations of courts, highly cultivated systems of substantive and adjective law and legislation were unknown at the time.

Akbar's provincial administration was radically different from that of Sher Shah and others.

He abolished Sher Shah's divisions of the empire into small units—Sirkars. He divided his empire into large provinces, called Subas, each

Provincial Administration. Subas.

Suba into sub-divisions, called Sarkars, and each Sarkar into still smaller units, called Mahals. According to the *Ain*, in 1594-95, the empire consisted of 12 Subas, subdivided into 125 Sarkars, again subdivided into 2737 townships. The twelve Subas were Bengal, Behar, Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Kabul, Ajmere, Gujarat, and Malwa. Kashmir was included in Lahore, and Sind in Multan. Later on, three more were added by the conquest of Khandesh, Berar and part of Ahmednagar.

An idea of the provincial organization may be gathered from the following table about Gujarat, taken from the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The Suba of Gujarat was divided into nine Sarkars, namely, Soruth (Kathiawar) Ahmedabad, Patan, Nandod, Champanair, Godhra, Baroda, Broach, Surat. The Sarkar of Baroda was again divided into four Mahals—Baroda, Sinor, Bahadurpur and Dabhoi.

The Suba was placed under the charge of a governor, known as the Subedar, Subedar.

Sipah-Salar, Hakem or Sahib

Suba. or simply Suba. *Ain I* in book III in the *Ain-i-Akbari* gives his duties. He was the emperor's deputy in the province whose troops and people were under him. He could punish them with death, hold judicial investigations, appoint trusty guards on high ways, employ spies, attend to agriculture

and irrigation, send Amils to collect revenue, construct wells, gardens, Serais etc and look after the general administration of the province.

The Paragna, the next unit of administration

in the province, was ruled by the Faujdar.

Faujdar Gard. Akbar expected him to collect the revenues of crown-lands, and dues from Zamindars, to chastise rebellious cultivators, to inspect troops and horses and to be responsible for the civil and military administration of the Paragna. His duties are described in *Ain* II.

Ain IV in the third book of the *Ain-i-Ak-*

bari records in very great detail the duties and responsibilities of the next important officer in the provincial hierarchy—the Kotwal or guardian of the city. He was

to watch and patrol the city at night, keep a register of its houses, organize its defence by citizen-soldiers, keep a minute account of the income and expenses of people, control markets, provide relief for the poor, collect local imposts, regulate prices and weights, prohibit the use of wine, keep an inventory of the property of those who died heirless, forbid slaughter of animals on appointed days and organize festivities on state-occasions.

The Amil punished robbers, advanced money

to cultivators, appointed Patels, Amil.

recovered waste-land for cultivation, stimulated the cultivation of valuable produce,

measured the land and assessed it, collected revenues, kept records of individual farms, appointed Karkuns, Mukadams, Patvaris and Kanungos, inspected receipts passed by individual collectors, and sent monthly statistical abstracts about the moral and material progress of the province.

He kept the treasury with the knowledge of
 Treasurer. the registrar and Shiqdar.

It was stated above that Akbar created a new
 class of nobility. Its members
 Mansabdars. were known as Mansabdars from
 the Arabic "*Mansab*" meaning
 an office. Akbar divided the nobility into 66 grades,
 from the commandant of 10 to the commandant of
 10,000. Commands above 5,000 were reserved for
 princes. Each Mansabdar was paid according to a
 fixed standard and he was allowed to keep a
 contingent of troops, horses, elephants and beasts
 of burden according to rules and regulations. Every
 one of the 66 *Mansabs* had three distinct classes
 with varying pensions and contingents for each. In
 actual practice, thirty-three and not sixty-six
Mansabs existed on the official lists, e. g. three
Mansabs for the three princes, of 10,000, 8,000 and
 7,000, and thirty *Mansabs* of 5,000, 4500, 3500,
 3,000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1250, 1000, 900, 800, 700,
 600, 500, 400, 350, 300, 250, 200, 150, 120,
 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10. Mansabdars
 1000 were Umraos, Amirs,

Sipah Salars and they were appointed as governors and Faujdars. *Mansabs* were *jāt* and *sawar Mansabs*, i. e. they were personal distinctions and they were conferred with a view to require the holder to bring contingents of troops. The distinctions were personal only. On the death of the Mansabdar the *Mansab* lapsed to the state. The institution was Perso-Arabic in origin. The military organization of the empire depended upon its actual working. It should be noticed that Akbar gave up Sher Shah's practice of having military recruitment and organization under the personal care of the emperor. So his Mansbdar developed into the rebellious provincial governor. Abul Fazl gives a list of the higher *Mansabs* from a study from which two facts can be deduced. Higher ranks in the civil and military services of the empire were held by Persians, Afghans and Mughals. Hindustani Mussalmans were very few in number. But the list of Hindu Amirs was fairly good. It should be remembered that the subordinate services of the state were run wholly by Hindus, especially the Kayasthas and Khattris.

The following column illustrates what a *Mansabs* and a Mansabdar were:—

Command	Horses	Elephants	Camels	Mules	Carts
10,000	80	200	160	40	320

Monthly salary for the first grade:

60,000 Rupees.

There were no second and third grades for this, which was the first *Mansab* in the empire. It was held by Prince Salim.

The tax on land was first fixed by Bairam Khan according to the kind of produce. It was revised in 1565 when Muzaffar Khan became revenue minister. But these devices proved very arbitrary. Hence in 1574-75, Akbar caused a fresh measurement of the land to be taken and a special officer was appointed, known as the *Karori* over every holding producing a crore of *tankas*. But that too did not work well. So when Todar Mall became finance minister he carried out special reforms in 1577. All land was surveyed and classified as follows:—(1) *Polaj* land, cultivated for each crop in succession and never allowed to lie fallow (2) *Paranti* land, left out of cultivation for a time to recover its strength (3) *Chachar* land, allowed to remain fallow for three or four years (4) *Bunjar* land, allowed to remain uncultivated for five years or more. Of the first three classes, three types were allowed, viz. good, middling and bad. Revenue officers added up the produce of each sort and took the average i. e. $\frac{1}{3}$ of it to represent the medium produce. The state claimed $\frac{1}{3}$ of this $\frac{1}{3}$ To illustrate:

Polaj land:

Best	middling	Worst
Wheat, 18 <i>maunds</i> .	12 <i>maunds</i>	8-35 <i>seers</i> .

cultivator's choice either in current coin or in kind. Special concessions in the form of remissions and suspensions of the tax and loans were allowed to agricultural classes during emergencies. The reader however should not forget that the science of statistics was unknown in those days and that there was always a good deal of uncertainty and elasticity in the manner of assessment and collection. Without troubling with figures, it may be argued that the land-tax did not fall very heavily upon the agricultural classes in Akbar's days.

Akbar abolished many inland customs and ta-

xes on internal trade, the pilgr-

Other Reforms.

im tax at places of pilgrimage,

the *Jaziya*, and a host of improper agricultural cesses. He built the fort of Agra at enormous expense, laid out the foundations for a great town—Nagar Chin near Agra, made able defences for the empire by raising forts at Attak, Allahabad, etc, allowed widow re-marriage, prohibited *Sati*, child-marriage and slavery, and issued regulations against slaughter of animals on certain occasions. Public houses were prohibited in the midst of the capital.

Islam like all other religions has been differently interpreted by its followers

Akbar's religion:

Historic background.

during different periods of its history under the influence of

the civilization of Persians, Greeks and Indians. In the 16th century a great reform-movement

was raging in the world of Islam and the Mahadavis and Roshanias were its principal exponents. Suffism was eagerly practised by many renowned Mussalmans in India and outside. Babar and Humayun had allowed great latitude to their subjects in religion. Rulers of different provinces in India, specially the Sultans of Bengal and Gujarat, had inclined to Suffism and Mahadavism. The Mahadavis were persecuted by the Surs. But their influence had greatly increased in the Punjab. The Sikhs had presented a common platform for Hindus and Mussalmans and Akbar had interviews with representatives of Sikh thought. Nor should the influence of preachers like Kabir be ignored. Babar is said to have left a dying advice to Humayun to tolerate Hinduism in the empire. Humayun was almost inclined to the Shia sect, and in his last days he was very partial to the Shias. Akbar's first tutor was one Abdul Latif, who is described to have impressed Shias as a Suni and Sunnis as a Shia. Akbar's childhood was spent in the atmosphere of religious toleration. His tutors read to him books on history and theology, and he never entertained an intolerant attitude towards religious questions. As early as 1561 he began to seek the company of Jogis, Sanyasis and Kalandars. He paid periodical visits to the shrine of the celebrated Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmere and Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi. He paid frequent personal visits to Shaikh

Salim at Sikri, after whom he named his eldest son. In 1567 when he was at Chitor, his courtiers presented to him Shaikh Faizi, son of Shaikh Mubarak, a man of great learning and piety and a persecuted Mahadavi. Akbar was a mystic. Many a time he experienced strange spiritual visions. He is described by Abul Fazl as having often emerged from "the mystic veil with wetted eye-lashes." Abul Fazl himself waited upon the emperor after 1574. The presence of Rajput ladies in the harem and Akbar's friendship with Rajputs impelled him to take the bold step of abolishing the pilgrim-tax and the *Jaziya*. But he was still a devout Mussalman of the orthodox Sunni creed.

After the conquest of Gujarat, Akbar cultivated

the friendship of the Parsi priest,
Dastur Meherji Rana, the Jain
priests, Hirvijayji Suri, Bhanu-
chandra and Shantischandra, and the Portuguese
Fathers, Aquaviva, Montserrat, Xavier and others.

Familiarity with other
creeds.

The Christian Fathers paid three visits to his court, 1580-83, 1592-94, 1595-1605. Akbar showed a disposition to understand and if possible to assimilate the doctrines of different creeds. In 1575 he built the famous Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri with reserved seats for officers, Amirs, Ulamas, Suffis, Sayyads. etc. Discourses were held in its hall every Thursday and orthodox doctors of Islam were worsted in the heated controversies on religi-

on and rules of conduct. The venality of the Sadr, Maulana Abdun Nabi, and the violence of temper exhibited by the Ulamas, for whom even the orthodox Badayuni has no good word to spare, convinced Akbar that "He could no longer find any mark of enlightenment in the learned of the age or the wearers of rags." The Jain priests impressed him greatly by the rigidity of their life and their saintliness. Akbar showed veneration to Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the Apostles and their relics. He abstained from eating flesh and he prohibited the massacre of cows and innocent animals on the days of his coronation and birth.

Abul Fazi says: "The object of the Ibadat Khana was to test the masters of science and ethics, the devotees of piety and contemplation, to examine the principles of faiths and creeds, to investigate religions, and to separate the pure gold from the alloy." In the course of discussions Akbar declared his repentance that he had once persecuted the Hindus because they were not of his faith. He said, "To repeat the creed, to remove a piece of skin and to place the end of one's bones on the ground from dread of the Sultan, is not seeking after God. The first step in this desert is to do battle with the soul and by rigorous self-examination to make anger and lust the subjects of pure reason, and to erase from the heart the marks

Akbar breaks away from tradition.

of censurable sentiments. We blame ourselves for, what we did in accordance with old rules, before the truth about faith had shed its rays on our heart. He is a man who makes justice the guide of the path of enquiry and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason."

He began the worship of fire, and issued a new era called the divine era. He even believed in the transmigration of the soul. On the representation of many Mussalmans that early rulers had read the *khutba* themselves, he tried to do the same himself, though in the course of the call to prayer, he stumbled badly.

Then Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Faizi, Abul Fazl and several other Mussalmans represented to Akbar that he should become the *Peshwa* or the Primate of the kingdom in matters, religious. So after decision by a conference of learned men, of whom Abdun Nabi and Mubarak were the chief, a document was signed by the doctors of religion, declaring that Akbar was the Pope of Islam and that his opinion should be binding upon all in matters of religious difference. They argued that their action was in complete consonance with the *Koran*, the requirements of political expediency and reason and declared that they had written and signed it for the glory of God and the propagation of Islam. After 1582 Akbar gave up the practice of going on pilgrimages to shrines of renowned saints, the

observance of the Ramzan fast and even prayers which every devout Muslim is required to go through. His hand fell relentlessly upon Muslim charitable institutions and venal Sadrs and Kazis were severely punished.

The final outcome was the promulgation of a reformed creed, called the Divine Din-e-Ilahi. Faith, or the Din-e-Ilahi. Its

chief doctrines were (1) There is but one God. (2) Man can establish communion with God without the intervention of a third party (3) Matters of religion should be decided by reason. (4) There should be complete toleration of all creeds. (5) He, who obtained initiation in the new brotherhood, was to surrender his life, property, creed and love to the Church. Some describe the new creed as pure deism or as eclectic pantheism, or eclectic monotheism.

The above is a brief historical and analytical outline of the developement of Critique.

Akbar's religion. Attempts are made to describe this curious phase of Akbar's mind as an intentional and violent apostacy from Islam. Nothing is more unjust to Akbar and his friends, Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl and Abul Faizī and others from beyond the Indus, who were advisers of Akbar, were not apostates from Islam; they were sincere reformers. They were men of great learning, piety and righteousness and in condemning Akbar, his traducers condemn the distinguished men who were

free from cant. Akbar did not compel any one to become a member of the reformed church. The very smallness of the number of its followers speaks much in favour of Akbar, because if he had intended, he could have used his great position to propagate his beliefs.

Again the attempt of Akbar to define Islam and to make it so broad-bottomed as to afford members of divergent creeds a place in it was the repetition of a similar experiment made in the palmy days of the Abassid Khalifs of Bagdad.

Akbar's reformed church lived on to the time of Shah Jahan when the *Dabistan* was written.

Calumny against Akbar is pressed still further. It is alleged that he considered himself as an incarnation of the Supreme Deity! Nothing can be more reprehensible. The Christian Fathers who attended his court, do not say so. Jahangir pays the most eloquent testimony to his father's sense of humility. Says he in his *Tuzuk*: "Notwithstanding his (Akbar's) kingship and his treasures and his buried wealth, which were beyond the scope of counting and imagination, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he, never by hair's breadth, placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God but considered himself the lowest of created beings and never for one moment forgot God." To these critics, even Jahangir was an athiest!

Of course Akbar was styled *Jagad Guru* by

the Hindus. But it should be remembered that it does not mean God's *Avatar* or incarnation.

The late Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the *Brahmo Samaj*. Did he cease being a Hindu? Are not the Brahmo Samajists Hindus? The late Swami Dayananda Sarasvati founded the *Arya Samaj*. His followers may be censured by the Sanatanists; but that denunciation should in no way induce a critic to call them non-Hindus. Cannot we take the same view about Akbar? As Prof. Habib says in the brief but highly suggestive preface to his "Sultan Muhmud of Ghazni", "Islam as a creed stands by the principles of the Quran and the life of the Apostle."

The reign of Akbar constituted a landmark on account of its characteristic attitude to the ancient culture and civilization of India. At the age of twenty-one when he was at Mathura he noticed the iniquity of the pilgrim-tax and abolished it. The abolition of the *Jazia*, the ordinances which he passed against child marriage and in favour of widow re-marriage, his regulation about Hindu converts to Islam, his toleration of all creeds, his reverent attitude to Hinduism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity and the special concessions which he made to representatives and heads of those creeds, all suggest his great and rational understanding of the cultural requirements of his age. His predecessors

had allied themselves with Rajputs by marriage. But they were political connections forced by the conqueror upon the conquered. Firoz Shah Taghlakh had encouraged the translation of Sanskrit works on medicine, etc. into Persian and the great Khalifs of Bagdad had encouraged and patronised the same Indian learning. But the system of Akbar's marriages with Rajput families and his encouragement of Indian learning did not carry the stamp of a conqueror or a research-worker or a translator. They were the works of a great political genius, who had an intuitional perception of its effects upon posterity. If the Rajput ladies were made partners in his domestic happiness, the Rajputs were admitted to positions of imperial trust and responsibility. They were made partners in the economy of the empire and their kingdoms were restored to them even after conquest. Mussalmans were encouraged to learn Sanskrit, e. g. Badayuni, Abdur Rahim, Faizi, etc. Akbar entrusted Badayuni with the translation of the *Mahabharat*. Abul Fazl co-operated with him; and the emperor himself corrected a part of the work. Badayuni was also ordered to translate the *Kathā-Sarit-Sagar* and the *Sinhasanbatrisi*. The *Ramāyana*, the *Hari Vansha Purāna*, the *Panchatantra*, the *Līlāvati Ganita*, the *Atharva Veda*, the story of Raja Nala and Damayanti, and the *Rājatarangini* of Kalhan or the history of Kashmir, the *Yoga*

Vāsishtha, were translated in Persian and their copies distributed among Amirs. The Hindu Pandits and Jains were allowed to stand [shoulder to shoulder with Muslims in the world of the learned who were divided according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* into five classes, i. e. (1) those who understood the mysteries of both the worlds (2) those who understood the mysteries of heart (3) who knew philosophy and theology (4) who knew philosophy only (5) who knew sciences on testimony. Musicians and painters were encouraged without distinction of creed or race. A great library was collected, consisting of books on many subjects and in many languages and a tradition says that a Jain monk named Padma Sunder left a large stock of useful books with the emperor.

All this had a great educative value. Nizamuddin Ahmed, the Bakshi of Gujarat, wrote his celebrated history, the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*. Badayuni, an orthodox Sunni historian, wrote his *Muntakhab*. Faizi Sirhindi was another historian. Abul Faizi was the poet-laureate of the court. Akbar asked Gulbadan Banu Begum, Babar's daughter, to write the *Humayun Nama*, and patronised Jauhar's and Bayazid's *Memoirs* on Humayun's reign. Babar's *Memoirs* were translated from Turki in Persian with remarkable accuracy by the Khan-i-Khanan Abdur-Rahim. Father Xavier was asked to compose a life of Christ in Persian. Many learned and liberal

commentaries were ordered to be written out on the Quran. Raja Todar Mall's reform induced the Hindus to learn Persian and Urdu and a great revolution commenced in the attitude of that community to the literature, philosophy and history of Islam.

Akbar thus made the remarkable attempt in the direction of a synthetic fusion of two cultures, Indian and Islamic, in administration, literature and architecture. Fatehpur Sikri which served as capital for about a decade after the conquest of Gujarat and Agra Fort are perpetual memorials of the genius of Akbar's reign. The Jodhbai Mahal, the Jahangiri Mahal, the Diwan-i-am and Diwan-i-khas, the Panch Mahal, the Turkish Sultana's house, and the Jamī Masjid are examples of his attempt to assimilate the best features of Hindu and Saracene architectures.

Great Poets, philosophers, men of letters, monks, physicians, artists and musicians thronged at the court of Akbar. Raja Binari Mall, Bhagvandas, Man Singh and Todar Mall, Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim, Munim Khan, Mirza Aziz Koka and others were great administrators and generals. Kai Purshottam, Nizamuddin Ahmed and others were the principal subordinate officers. Kavi Ganga, Hirvijaya-ji Suri, Devidas, Bhanucandra, Shantishchandra the author of the *Kripa Rāsa Kosha*, Fathers Montse-

erat, Aquaviva, Xavier and Shaikh Mubarak, were the great men of letters. Raja Birbal or Maheshdas, a Brahmabhat from Kalpi, was the emperor's witty story-teller and friend. Tansen and Surdas were the great musicians. Ganga was the great Hindi poet. Lal Kalavant was a great artist. He was the only Hindu of the new Church. But the most confidential friends of the emperor were the two sons of Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Faizi, the poet-laureate, and Abul Fazl, the distinguished author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Abul Fazl gives at the end of his *Ain-i-Akbari* a biographical account of himself. Abul Fazl.

He was born in 1551 in the family of Shaikh Mubarak whose ancestors once settled in Sind from Arabia and who studied various lores at Ahmedabad, Nagore and Agra. The family professed the Mahadavi creed and was the object of relentless persecution by Islam Shah Sur and his successors. Shaikh Mubarak was introduced to Akbar by Aziz Koka. His two sons, Abul Faizi and Abul Fazl, developed a friendly acquaintance with the emperor, the one by his poetic powers, the other by his broad-mindedness, learning and sincerity. In childhood Abul Fazl was very precocious. His memory was uncommonly sharp and retentive and his reading was extraordinarily wide. The Jain and Christian monks speak of him in very appreciative terms. Honest and selfless, he never accepted a title from the emperor. Worthy of high trust, of

liberal views and painstaking, Abul Fazl was the most remarkable man at Akbar's court. He has immortalised himself and his patron, the emperor, by the celebrated *Ain-i-Akbari*. He was a historian, statistician, research-worker, commentator and philosopher, all combined. Vincent Smith traduces him as a flatterer; but this allegation is unjust and without foundation. The style of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is of course florid and artificial. But we should remember that every writer in Persian has accepted it as his model and that is was the traditional style in Persian literature. Abuse and fines never existed in his household. His dishes were very costly and any one could partake of them. The contents of his works are free from impurities; woman is never lightly spoken of; his regard for truth was great and his sentiments were highly noble. Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, Prince of Turan, used to say that he was more afraid of Abul Fazl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Abul Fazl was the author of other works also.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* is the *magnum opus* of Abul Fazl and a store-house of information about Hindustan in the 16th century. The *Ain* was first published by Tieffentaller in 1776 in his description of India's geography and inaccurately by Gladwin in 1783. The first part of it was translated into Engl Blochman and the next two volumes

ted by Colonel Jarret. The first book of the *Ain-i-Akbari* describes the various departments of the state and their working in ninety *Ains* or Institutes. The second book gives in thirty *Ains* or Institutes the army organisation, the system of Mansabdars, etc. The third book has sixteen *Ains* which describe the Subas with their histories and statistics. The *Ain-i-Akbari* also deals with the philosophical systems of India, its geography and its literature. It ends with an autobiographical notice of the author.

The *Akbar Nama* is a continuation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and gives the history of Akbar Nama. the reign of Akbar almost up to the time of the author's death. Abul Fazl's work is the most laborious and masterly exposition of the political and economic condition of India in the 16th century.

The Christian Fathers and Jahangir in his *Memoirs* describe Akbar as illiterate. Abul Fazl in the *Akbar Nama* says how Akbar showed great reluctance to learn from his teachers. But he also says more than once that Akbar's mind was strongly drawn to the composition of Hindi and Persian poetry. Firishta confirms this in his history, although it may be said that he drew his information from Abul Fazl. Akbar used to recite off-hand the *masnavis* of Jalaluddin Rumi and the *divans* of Hafiz. He was very critical and hair-splitting in the niceties of poetical diction and a very shrewd and so.

und judge of caligraphy. Abul Fazl observes in his *Ain* that when books were being read to Akbar, he used to reward their readers according to the number of pages read by them and marked by the emperor. From this it appears that Akbar was illiterate in the sense that he did not read or write diligently or extensively, not that he did not know how to read and write.

Such was Akbar, the first amongst the Great
 Akbar's place in In- Mughals. The boy-emperor of
 dian history. thirteen, flying pegions, hunting
 tigers and deer and riding the
 most mischievous elephants, developed into one of
 the most serious, versatile and the greatest of In-
 dian rulers, just as the little kingdom of the Punjab
 at the time of his installation was enlarged in
 course of time into the great empire of Hindustan.
 Akbar dissolved the narrow, bigoted and clannish
 polity of the Afghan kingdom of Delhi and built
 upon it a great state-system, whose foundations were
 laid deep and almost permanent in the soil of India.
 The Afghans wasted the rich resources of their
 people and territories in fruitless wars among them-
 selves and against the Rajputs whom they could
 neither crush nor obilterate, and refused to learn
 by experience; Akbar terminated the internal
 strife of Hindustan by defeating sedition, rebellion,
 insolence and family intrigue, and by uniting with
 the Raiputs, he launched the new Indian state

into a policy of peace, administrative and social reform, and an understanding of the values of the different, and especially the two, cultures of India. He released the Muslim rule in India from fanaticism and clerical influence. His revenue reforms simplified the intricate problem of land, replenished the treasury of the state, and created a contented and prosperous peasantry, the pride of every well organised state. His institution of the *mānsab* gave to the empire a loyal and experienced civil and military service, which served the state with efficiency and wisdom to the last days of his life. Akbar trained up a school of administrators. He created a great tradition of loyal and valiant service. He organized a strong and able defence of the north-west frontier—the grip on Afghanistan gave peace to India to the time of Nadir Shah. The conquests of Akbar were complete. They were not mere military occupations or administrative annexations. The rule of Akbar healed the wounds of anarchy and mis-rule and permanently attached the people to his throne and administration. This was the cause why few local rebellions disturbed the peace of the empire during the reigns of his successors. He created a sense of imperial consciousness in the mind of the Indian; the Bengali, the Hindustani, the Rajput, the Gujarati, all merged their local and provincial existence into the *Mughlai*. The old Afghan rule had been nourished on des-

tructive practices—demolition of temples, emasculation of the Hindu nobility and peasantry, internal discord, the institution of slaves, provincial jealousies, administrative inefficiency, and racial and religious isolation. Akbar's new system destroyed this evil tradition. He instilled in the Indian mind the sense of pride in the glory and work of the *Mughalai*. His recruitment of services was as broad-bottomed as it could have been at the time. The appointments and transfers of officers in the various parts of the empire brought in their train an ever-moving mass of people, migrating from one province to another, resulting in the breaking down of barriers of religion and provincialism. Akbar nurtured the idea of Indian unity. The emperor was the Sulla of the Mughal dynasty—he never undertook an enterprise which he did not carry through; fortune always favoured him. Like Augustus, he brought to the teeming communities of Hindustan the message of peace, reform and union. And by liberal patronage of learning, even distribution of offices and creative attitude to India's culture, he brought another idea to us—the idea of progress. Of course the emperor was sometime cruel; he was hot-headed; his was not a saintly and spotless character. But if we judge him more as ruler and less as man, our estimate of him would not suffer by such lapses. The ruled are the best judges of their rulers and Akbar has lived on in our memories ever since. Fearless in war; regular

and abstemious in habits, of warm friendships, quick to learn new lessons, bold in imagination, of great political sagacity, grateful for obligations received, forgiving and forgetful, generous, anxious to understand the view-point of the opposition, a father to his people, Akbar shall for ever answer the ideal of Indian rulership.

Note A

Chapter IV in the supplement of the *Mirat-i-Ahmedi*, a history of Gujarat, written by Ali Muhammad Khan during 1750-1761, describes in some details government officials and their appointments, a brief summary of which is given below from the translation of Prof. Syed Nawab Ali, M. A. and C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., published as No. XLIII in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. The information is supplemented by the account given in Appendix I of the same work. The information pertains to the Suba of Gujarat.

The Suba was known also as the *Nazim*, who received, when he was posted in Gujarat, 1,85,900 *dams*-1 85,000 as *inam* and the rest as *jagir*, besides tribute from the Zamindars, in the time of Ali Muhammad Khan.

The *Faujdar Gard* was appointed by the Nazim for the defence of the suburbs and the administration of places near and was paid Rs 20,000. He was ordered to keep ready a contingent of horse, half of which was utilized as patrol. There were several such officers in the cities.

The *Faujdar Gard* had several *Thanadars* of Villages under him. The *thanas* meant enclosed quarters where cavalry and infantry with muskets and cross bows were kept for the preservation of order and the protection of the travellers and inhabitants.

The *Diwan* of the province was appointed by royal order and under the seal of the *Vazir*. His official establishment consisted of the *Peshkar*, Secretary, *Daroga*, superintendent, *Mushriff*,

treasurer, Tahvildar., Munshi, and clerks for the Huzur, the Suba, crown lands, records and salaries, record-keepers and news-writers.

The judicial department in the province was presided by the district judge, known as *Sadr-Kachari-i-Sadarat*. He was appointed by the Sadr-us-Sadur or Chief Judicial Functionary from the capital. He held a *mansab* and a salary of Rs. 50 per month. He checked the *sanads* of the subordinate officers and looked after the charities of the province.

The Qazis were appointed by the Sadr-us-Sadur.

The court had its own Vakil, *Muftis*, accountants and clerks.

The Muhtasibs for the cities and the towns were appointed by the Sadr. They executed the commandments and prohibitions of the law and supervised weights and measures.

The Bakhshis paid the salaries of the officers and sent reports of the administration to the emperor.

The State employed special reporters who functioned as the secret service of the empire. They worked as postal superintendents and they sent their reports every week openly, enclosing letters, applications of the Nazims and the Diwans, treasury account sheets, etc. These were opened in the presence of the superior officer by the *Daroga of Posts*. They delivered to the Nazims and Revenue officers the *firman*s and orders issued by the Khalsa office. The emperor kept special Ahadis who travelled under passport from the post master and who got provision from the local officers and Jagirdars. Couriers had to run one *kos* per *ghadi*. They were helped by scouts specially posted for the purpose by the local administration. In Gujarat there were 62 couriers, in all receiving Rs. 250 per month.

The Daroga appointed *Harkaras* to acquire information and report to the Nazim.

The branding department employed Amins, Darogas, Mush-rifs, and other clerks. It did not exist in the time of the later Mughals.

The Kotwals were appointed by the emperor or by the Nazim and got Rs. 213 each per month.

Special officers were appointed for ports like those of Surat, etc., known as *Mutasaddis*.

The treasury had the four departments of taxes, arrears, alms and the *Jazia*.

The state maintained a department for the regulation of the cloth market known as *Sad ranj*—or five per cent department. The *Mugayyim* fixed prices in the market and received annas twelve for every Rs. 100. He paid to the royal treasury Rs. 1,000 every year. Customs were fixed in this market, which had jurisdiction in the Paragnas and towns. These were markets for jewellery, cattle, *pan*, drugs, corn, etc. also.

There were departments for mints, the purchase and breeding of horses, royal wardrobe, gardens, buildings, timings, free kitchens, hospitals with Hakims, Vaidyas and surgeons, hunting animals, etc.

Note B.

The effect of Akbar's tolerant and sympathetic policy to the culture and civilization of India was great and it is easily discerned in the growth of the vernaculars—Prakrits and Urdu of India. This needs no exaggeration. Babar's and Humayun's reigns were mostly Turkish and their leanings were to the Turkish which was the spoken language of the court and to Persian, which was the language of the administration, the court and the learned world. Both Babar and Humayun had spent the greater part of their lives outside India. But with Akbar it was different. He was the first of the great Mughals who spent their lives in India. His contact with the indigenous culture of India was the greatest. So his reign witnessed by far the best development of the languages and literature of India. This development was universal—it embraced the Persian, Urdu and Hindi literatures evenly. We notice another great change. The Turkish language lost the patronage

of the Mughal court in India and Persian and Urdu literature in India became more "Prakritised." The Hindus had commenced the study of Islamic culture ever since the days of Mahmud Gami but their entrance in the higher services of their Muslim rulers commenced specially from the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. In the reigns of Sher Shah and his successors, the association of the Hindus became more pronounced. It became complete in the reign of the great Akbar. The result was that the greatest co-operation ensued between the cultured members of the two communities. Turki was entirely superseded by Urdu by the time of Shah Jahan. For a detailed study of the questions discussed here, the reader is referred to *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court (with a survey of the growth of Urdu language)* 3 Vols by Muhammad Abdul Ghani M.A., M.Litt., (Cambr) Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1929-1930.

CHAPTER IX. Jahangir, 1605-1627.

Maintenance of the Empire.

Some time before Akbar's death Raja Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka,

Prince Salim as
emperor.

maternal uncle and father-in-law
of Prince Khushru, Salim's eld-

est son, set up an intrigue to place that boy of seventeen on the throne. But they found no support from the nobility and Akbar nominated Salim as his successor. So the nobles supported Salim on two conditions (1) that the followers of Khushru should be pardoned and (2) there should be no religious innovation and the Sunni faith should be respected. Salim became emperor under the title

Rana Amar Singh. But the expedition proved a failure. In 1608 Mahabat Khan was sent. But he too failed. Mirza Aziz Koka could not vanquish the Rana in 1614. Prince Khurram was sent against Amar Singh. He established military posts in Mewar. So the Rana made peace. His territories were restored on condition that he accepted Jahangir's supremacy and never fortified or repaired the fortress of Chitor. But he was exempted from offering personal respects to the emperor and was allowed to send his son, Rai Karan, to wait upon him. Rai Karan received very cordial treatment from the emperor throughout the reign and Mewar remained loyal to the empire up to Aurangzib's time.

Khawaja Muhammad Shariff, grandfather of Nur Jahan, was a native of Tehran and was Vazir of Khorasan and Yezd in Persia. He had two sons, the second of whom, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, being reduced to poverty, travelled to Hindustan with his wife, two sons and a daughter. While passing through Kandahar, his wife was delivered of a baby, who subsequently became Empress Nur Jahan. A merchant friend introduced Ghiyasuddin to Akbar who appointed him in the perfume department. In course of time, he rose to great prominence. Mehrunnissa, his youngest daughter, was married to a Persian, Ali Kuli Beg by name, who had immigrated into India from Persia. Akbar placed him on the

personal staff of Prince Salim and he won the title of Sher Askun. When Salim rebelled, Sher Askun remained loyal to the emperor, but the Prince forgave him and on his accession he gave him a *jagir* in Bengal. There the Afghans rebelled and Sher Askun lost his life in the scuffle. So Mehrunnissa and her daughter, Ladili Begum, went to the court, where they were placed on the personal staff of Salima Begam, the dowager empress. In March, 1611, Mehrunnissa attracted the notice of the emperor at the vernal fancy bazar and in May next, they were married. First she was known as Nur Mahal; but in 1616 she became Nur Jahan or the Light of the World.

Nur Jahan was in her thirty-fourth year when she became Empress of Hindustan. Thin and soft in features, with an oval face, a broad forehead and the blue eyes of the Persian, Nur Jahan preserved excellent health by frequent exercises in hunting, shooting and riding. She had great versatility, resourcefulness and strong common sense. She wrote poetry. When the dowager empress died in 1613, she became the leader of society. As such, she kept up the prestige of the court by sobriety and moderation and encouraged several crafts by introducing new fashions in dresses, decorations and domestic furniture. She was extremely affable and generous and she gave away

number of girls in marriage at her expense. Nur Jahan was a woman of great statecraft; her administration was mild to the people but stern to the seditious. She was immensely fond of power which she surrendered only under force. Her favourites enjoyed the highest distinctions; but a rebel against her had only to lick the dust—such was her great ascendancy over the emperor's mind and policy. Her presence of mind was great. Her love and regard for the emperor were unparalleled. They were fitting complements to each other. Jahangir wanted a life of ease; he therefore transferred all authority to Nur Jahan. All grants were sealed by Nur Jahan. Jahangir allowed her the prerogatives of sovereignty. She offered herself for *dārshana* to the populace. Coins were struck with the stamps of Jahangir and Nur Jahan. Unfortunately, Nur Jahan could not avoid the consequences of her sex. Possessed of great resourcefulness and extraordinary presence of mind, she could not lead a troop of soldiers or offer military resistance to a subordinate prince or noble. This weakness proved fatal to her ambition and power.

Nur Jahan was given a *mansab* of 30,000 and the income of vast *jagirs*. She distributed patronage, directed the empire's domestic and foreign policy and became solely responsible for the government of the state. Shrewd, versatile and

Administration of Nur Jahan.

prudent as she was, she and her relations scrupulously maintained the traditions of Akbar's policy. During her administration, the empire was almost at peace.

The administration was carried on by Nur

Jahan with the help of (1) her
A Family Junta. mother Asmat Begum, who ex-

ercised a moderating influence upon the inexperienced and intriguing empress: (2) Nur Jahan's father, Itimaduddawla. He was the most prominent member of the group. Diligent in study and work, sympathetic to the poor, of great equanimity of temper and given to the habit of keeping very accurate accounts, Itimad-ud-dawla was the first person in the state with a *mansab* of 14,000. His tomb at Agra is a monument of the artistic taste of the nobility of the time. But Itimad had one weakness: he was corrupt. (3) The next member of the group was Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan's brother, whose knowledge embraced every department of learning. (4) The last but not the least member was Prince Khurram, the conqueror of Mewar and the Deccan. He was married in 1612 to Asaf Khan's daughter, Arjumand Banu Begum or the famous Mumtaz in whose memory he built the Taj. A great favourite of Akbar and Jahangir, Khurram received a liberal education and at the age of 20 he was the ideal of temperance, courage and magnificence. He was an able warrior and a versatile strategist. From the very first, people fixed him as successor

to the throne. In 1611, he was a Mansabdar of 12,000. His marriage with the empress' niece strengthened his position and marked him out as the most fortunate man in the administration. His alliance with Nur Jahan lasted up to 1622.

The reign of Jahangir offers few important episodes in political history. The

Conquests and annexations.

empire was in complete peace, a sufficient tribute to the efficiency of its administration and to the skill of Nur Jahan and her party. A few Rajputs of Bikaner revolted only to be suppressed. A rebellion in Gujarat under the son of its ex-Sultan, Muzaffar, was crushed. The Portuguese were compelled to surrender after a brief siege of Daman. The Afghans in Bengal found a leader in Usman and allies in one Raja Pratapaditya and the Maghs. But Jahangir's general defeated and killed Usman, and conciliated the Hindus. On the north-west frontier the Raushanias proved very unmanageable. Jahangir made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer little Tibet. In Behar, the rich diamond-mines of Khokhara were annexed to the empire in 1617, and the same year witnessed the surrender of the Jam of Navanagar, who personally waited upon the emperor at Ahmedabad with specimens of the famous breed of horse from his land. In 1620, Jahangir annexed the province of Kistawar, south of Kashmir, rich on account of its saffron. The impregnable

fort of Kangra fell in the same year. The governor of Kandahar, Shah Beg Khan, repulsed an attack of the Persians in 1600. The ruler of Persia threatened that place. So in 1622, Shah Jahan was asked to go to the succour of the city. Kandahar fell to the Persians in 1622. But this event opened a new page in the history of Jahangir's reign.

The domestic and foreign policy of Jahangir did not differ from that of Akbar.

The Deccan. Malik
Ambar.

That ruler had almost completed the reduction of Ahmednagar

when he was called away to the north by the rebellion of Prince Salim. The pre-occupation of Akbar, his subsequent death and the crisis of Khushru's rebellion gave a much-needed respite to Ahmednagar, which received a new lease of life for thirty years by the emergence of Malik Ambar. This talented general and administrator of the Deccan had received his early apprenticeship in war and counsel under Chingiz Khan, the conqueror of Berar. He introduced Todar Mall's system of land revenue in the south, created a well-equipped army for his master, and taught to it a method of warfare which ultimately destroyed the empire when used by Shivaji and Baji Rao. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave rising to such eminence. In warfare, command, sound judgment and administration, Malik Ambar had no equal. He shifted the capital from Daulata-

bad to Khirkee or Aurangabad, built splendid palaces there and in every way behaved like a great leader of men.

Jahangir sent Khan-i-Khanan Abdurrahim, Perviz, Man Singh and Khan Jahan Lodi against Ahmednagar in succession but they failed to reduce the Deccanis. In 1616 the emperor decided to supervise the operations himself. He moved in the direction of Mandu and appointed Prince Khurram to the command of the army. Khurram arranged a truce with Malik Ambar. The province of Balaghat was ceded to him and Ahmednagar was formally surrendered. But it was a short-lived truce. Malik Ambar's predatory army ravaged the borders of Malwa. So Prince Khurram compelled him to surrender his conquests, 1620-21. Bijapur and Golkonda treated with the Prince at the time. But the next year witnessed the supersession of the Prince in the Deccan. Politics at Ahmednagar therefore took a new turn.

Jahangir had four sons, (1) Khushru, whom Khurram's rebellion. Shah Jahan did to death at Burhanpur in September, 1621. (2) Perviz (3) Khurram, born of Jagat Gosai in January, 1592 and (4) Shahariyar, born of a concubine in 1605. Perviz was vain and much below the average. Shahariyar was known as good-for-nothing or *nashudani*. So Khurram was marked

out as the most likely successor to Jahangir. He was made Shah Jahan and a special honour was bestowed upon him by Jahangir, by allowing him to use a chair near the imperial throne after his Deccan campaigns. But it roused the jealousy of Nur Jahan. She had once intended to give her daughter, by Sher Afkun, Ladili Begum, to Khushru who rejected the offer. The princess was therefore married in April, 1620, to Shahariyar who became the object of the empress' attentions. Her mother and father died in 1621-1622. Asaf Khan, her brother, was the father-in-law of Shah Jahan. So the Nur Jahan junto was practically dissolved. The empress wanted to destroy Khurram's influence. He was asked in March, 1622, to go to Kandahar, which was threatened by the Persians. But Shah Jahan refused to march beyond Mandu, unless he was assured of a safe position in the empire. At Dholpur a skirmish ensued between his army and the imperial forces, which infuriated the emperor. Shah Jahan was deprived of his *jagirs* in the north. Nur Jahan now called Mahabat Khan from Kabul to go against the revolted prince. Prince Perviz and other imperial officers drove away rebel parties from Gujarat and Shah Jahan himself from Hindustan. That prince escaped to the territories of Goalkonda. He sent invitations to Ahmednagar and Bijapur for help. Then he ravaged Orissa, Bengal, and Behar and occupied the provinces of Allaha-

bad and Jaunpur. But Prince Perviz and Mahabat Khan defeated him at Allahabad. So Shah Jahan once more turned to the south and besieged Burhanpur. Even there Perviz and Mahabat Khan frustrated his plans. So he raised the siege and made his submission, June, 1626. Shah Jahan ceded the forts of Rhotas and Asirgadh and sent his two sons, Dara and Aurangzib, as hostages. Jahangir accepted the submission and appointed him governor of Balaghat. Shah Jahan fixed up his residence at Nasik.

Mahabat Khan's original name was Zamana Beg. He was the son of an Mahabat Khan and Nur Jahan. Afghan of Kabul and had once served Jahangir as his Ahadi.

From that humble position, he rose to great eminence. He distinguished himself in the campaigns of Mewar and the Deccan, in the government of Kabul and against Shah Jahan and he won the regard of Rajput soldiers to such an extent that they and their historian, Colonel Tod afterwards, attributed to him a Rajput parentage. Sagar, the treacherous brother of Rana Pratap, was fastened upon him as his father. Mahabat had crushed Shah Jahan's revolt. But Nur Jahan suspected him. So she broke up the combination of the prince and the commander by transferring the latter to Bengal. The policy of the empress went still further. She was after humiliating and if possible destroying Mahabat Khan as she had destroyed Shah Jahan.

So the general was accused of dishonesty and insubordination. She alleged that he had failed to give a proper account of the administration of the imperial *jagirs* in Bengal and had married his daughter to a courtier without imperial consent. An explanation was asked of him. Mahabat was quick in answering. With 5000 Rajputs he hurried up to the Jhelum and arrested the emperor when his party was about to cross it. Nur Jahan and her protegee, Shahariyar, escaped to the opposite bank in disguise; but Mahabat compelled them to surrender. Mahabat was now supreme and Nur Jahan's influence came to an end. But it was a few days' ascendence only. The resourceful empress effected the release of the emperor at Rohtas in May, 1626. But Mahabat was able to escape to Shah Jahan.

Prince Perviz died in October, 1626. Shah

Jahangir's death. Jahan was at this time contemplating to go to Kandahar and

was near the walls of Thatha. But on suffering a reverse he retraced his steps to the Deccan. There he was met by Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan despatched Khan Jahan Lodi against this formidable combination, when the death of Jahangir in October, 1627, near Bhimbhar dissolved all her plans.

After the emperor's death, Asaf Khan arrested Nur Jahan, proclaimed Dāvar Intrigues for the throne. Bakhsh, son of Khushru, as emperor and sent fast courriers to the Deccan to

inform Shah Jahan of the state of affairs. Another section raised Shahariyar to the throne at Lahore but that unfortunate prince was defeated and blinded. Shah Jahan soon repaired to the north. In January, 1628, he was proclaimed emperor of India. Shahariyar and other princes were murdered. Davar Bakhsh fled to Persia. Nur Jahan was pensioned off. She lived a retired life at Lahore, dressed in white only, and died in 1646. The reign of Jahangir and the administration of Nur Jahan were over.

It was during the reign of Jahangir that King James I of England sent two English Embassies. Sir Thomas Roe, embassies to the court of the Great Mughal, one an informal one under William Hawkins in 1611, who conversed with the emperor in *Turki* and who was given a *mansab* of 400, and the other under Sir Thomas Roe, who waited upon Jahangir at Ajmere in January, 1616. Jahangir treated the envoy well but refused to grant him concessions and privileges—freedom of trade for Englishmen at all ports, freedom from extra duties, etc. Roe followed the emperor to Mandu, Ahmedabad and Burhanpur, but without success. He returned home in 1619. He has given us full descriptions of the camps of Prince Perviz at Burhanpur and of the emperor at Ajmere, of the celebrations of the *naoroz* and of the ceremony of the weighing of the emperor. He has also left to us a very interesting account of

Prince Khushru and of the disgrace of the commander, Abdulla Khan. He refers to plague at Agra. But the observations of the English traveller and his Chaplain, Edward Terry on politics should be accepted with qualifications.

Characters of three rulers went to form the life, and shape the policy, of Jahangir. He had the frankness and gailies of Babar, the fickleness and indolence and the milk of human kindness of Humayun, without their military virtue, and the broad-mindedness and liberality of Akbar without his versatality and great administrative parts.

Like Babar, Jahangir has given us his own autobiography. Like his great-grandfather, he was a candid lover of sports, hunting, animals, birds, insects, and flowers. Like many men of his time, he indulged in monstrous atrocities, exulting over useless shedding of guilty blood, as when he impaled some seven hundred followers of the ill-fated Prince Khushru. He showed great cowardice and unpardonable want of compunction in his treatment of Khushru, who was defunct after his defeat at Bhairoval and the deaths of his relations, Man Singh and Aziz Koka. Jahangir lacked in the quality of even an ordinary soldier. He summered away a precious youth in drink and merry-making. As Prince Salim, he never showed military distinction. When asked by Akbar to move against Rana

Amar Singh, he revolted. As emperor, he never led a campaign. Once he followed up his generals in the pursuit of Khushru; at another time, he encamped at Ajmere to press the invasion of Mewar by Prince Khurram; once he went as far as Mandu to superintend the Deccan campaigns; but these were neither military marches nor diplomatic efforts. They were the leisurely encampments of a hunter, sportsman, and ruler, when opportunity was taken to display his great wealth. Jahangir showed equal lack of soldierly virtue when he allowed himself to be arrested and confined by his own creature, the intrepid and courageous Mahabat Khan; it should be a disgrace to a Timurid to confess release from a general to the pluck and nerve of his wife. He had the irresolution and volatility of his grandfather, Humayun. He succumbed to superior talents, because he was a prince of just the average worth. He revolted against Akbar in a moment of indiscretion and under evil influence; but he did not persevere in the enterprise. He would tempt away God when in an overpowering mood and during sickness, he would vow never to shoot or to kill—after recovery, he soon forgot his vow and his God. That was not the stuff of which the first Timurids were made. . . . And still this gay, easy-going and unsoldierly Timurid was a prince of great common sense. He promised his co-religionists never to disturb Sun-

nism after installation and he kept that promise. He destroyed Prince Khushru and his small men; but he continued the leaders of his party, Man Singh and Aziz Koka, in power, because they were indispensable. He did not press the invasion of Amar Singh too far; he knew the value of the Rajputs too well. He pursued his father's policy of toleration, but he never indulged in dangerous experiments on religion: he knew it too well that he had not the strength and will to meet a revolted Hindu or Mussalman community. He kept the salient features of his father's polity. As the reign of Shah Jahan and specially of Aurangzib too amply showed, there were fanatical elements, which wanted only a word of encouragement from the Shah-in-Shah, and all the noble work of Akbar would have been upset in the twinkling of an eye. But Jahangir was not the man to play with fire. Of course, the emperor surrendered to superior worth; it was due to his lack of military virtue and experience. But he succumbed to real worth; he could see the strength and weakness of those, who cast their spell over him. As he says in his *Tuzuk*, "In counsels on state affairs and government, it often happens that I act according to my own judgment and prefer my own counsel to that of others."

Jahangir had kept a chain, made of pure gold, to enable his subjects to get prompt justice. It was 30 *gaz* in length and had 60 bells and it weighed

4 *maunds*. One end of it was fastened to the battlement of the *Shahburz* of the fort of Agra and the other to a stone fixed on the bank of the Jamnā. Needless to say that this costly chain did not prove a cheap and speedy instrument of justice.

A mere glance at the *Tuzuk-Diary* will convince any curious reader that Was Jahangir an atheist? he was not—he kept prolonged company with Sanyasis, Jogis and Kalandars like Jadrup. He hated cant, superstition, and all outward forms, which go by the name of religion. Nor was he against Islam. He showed great partiality to Christians. He allowed them the rights of free conversion and prayer. He accepted from them pictures of Mary and Jesus, the Pope, and European monarchs. He showed equal veneration to Jain monks, though he persecuted one Man Singh or Jina Sinhā Suri and his followers at Ahmedabad. He had engaged Bhanuchandra to educate prince Shahariyar. Bhanuchandra saw the emperor who was greatly pleased. He welcomed him, and said that Shahariyar was waiting for him and he asked him to instruct him in religion in the same way as he had once instructed his father, Akbar. He added that the Jain monk was always dear to him. But he remained and died a true Mussalman.

Jahangir was a great judge of art. He could spot on the spur of the moment the author of any picture brought to him. The coins of Jahangir

prove his refined taste and zeal for novelties.

Jahangir's reign witnessed the rise of Tulsi-das, the celebrated author of *Ram Charita Manasa*, a devotional adaptation of Valmiki's *Ramayana*, to great literary and religious eminence:

Jahangir has left us his autobiography. It gives us a vivid picture of the
Jahangir's Memoirs. flora and fauna of Hindustan and the life of its writer. Rogers observes in his preface to the translation of it: "If Babar was the Cæsar of the east and if the many-sided Akbâr was an epitome of all the great emperors, including Augustus, Trojan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Julian and Justinian, Jahangir was certainly of the type of the emperor Claudius and so bore a close resemblance to our James I. All these men were weak men under the influence of their favourites. All three were literary and at least two of them dabbled in theology. All three were in their wrong places as rulers. James I and Jahangir would have been happier as keepers of the Bodleian and of a Natural Historical Museum."

One important difference between Jahangir's *memoirs* and those of Babar may be pointed out. Jahangir never betrays Babar's aversion against India, her climate, her people and their habits and customs.

CHAPTER X

Shah Jahan, 1628-58. The culmination of the Mughal state-system.

Shah Jahan succeeded his father at Agra in

Shah Jahan. February, 1628.

The first important event of the new reign was the rebellion of a distinguished and once loyal noble, Khan Jahan Lodi. His real name was Pir Khan. He was a descendent of the nephew of Daulat Khan Lodi who had invited Babar to India. His father was under the service of Prince Daniyal. Pir Khan went to serve Prince Salim, who showered on him the richest gifts in his possession. He was made Salabat Khan and then Khan Jahan and governor of Multan, Agra, Gujarat, and the Deccan, where he served against the state of Bijapur and Ahmednagar under different generals, and *Farzand* or the child of the emperor. During the last years of Jahangir's reign, he supported Prince Perviz and so incurred the displeasure of Prince Khurram. When Shah Jahan became emperor, he superseded him in the Deccan because he was suspected of having conspired with Fath Khan, son of Malik Ambar. So Khan Jahan rebelled and marched to Malwa and besieged Mandu. But Shah Jahan pardoned him and reinstated him in his post in the Deccan. Khan Jahan now went

to Burhanpur and then repaired to the north on being relieved of his duties by Mahabat Khan. At Agra, however, he entertained suspicions against the emperor and he fled away in the direction of Malwa. But the imperial army pursued and defeated him near Dholpur. So passing through Bundelkhand and Gondvan, Khan Jahan went to Burhan Nizam-ul-mulk. There also, Azam Khan, the imperial general, pursued him. So the rebels fled into the territories of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur. But they were hotly pressed and defeated. So they once more turned to the north. A party of them was defeated in Bundelkhand by Raja Vikramajit, and Khan Jahan and his sons were separated from their supporters. They fought stubborn actions near Kalanjar, but their family was killed while fighting, excepting the Khan's two sons, who were captured and sent to the court. Khan Jahan's was the last Afghan attempt against the Mughals.

The Portuguese had settled near Satgaon under the Sultans of Bengal and had in course of time built fortifications there. The settlement developed into the port of Hugli. It seriously injured the trade of the port of Satgaon. The Europeans had secured large tracts of land in the neighbourhood at very low rents. They preached Christianity to the people and kidnapped a large number to Europe. Kasim Khan, governor of Bengal, asked them to

stop this practice, to read the *Khutba* in the emperor's name and to coin money under Mughal supremacy. But they refused to agree. So he sent three armies, one to take possession of the *Khalsa* or crown lands occupied by the enemy, another to besiege Hugli, and the third to cut off their retreat. The operations were planned with boldness, foresight and knowledge. The Portuguese defended the fort with remarkable courage and musketeers worked havoc upon the besieging party. But ultimately the fort was captured by the imperialists after a siege of three and a half months. An idea of the defence might be obtained from the *Padshah Nama*, the official history, written by Abdul Hamid Lahori, according to whom 10,000 Franks and 1000 Mussalmans were killed in the course of the siege, 4400 Christians were captured and 10,000 subjects of the emperor were released.

Vir Singh Dev, the murderer of Abul Fazl

and the recipient of rich honours

Shah Jahan and
Bundelkhand.

from Jahangir, died in 1627,

leaving countless wealth and the

flourishing state of Orchha in Bundelkhand. He was succeeded by his son, Jhujhar Singh, who left Agra in fear of the emperor. Shah Jahan therefore sent against him Mahabat Khan and Abdulla Khan. Jhujhar Singh submitted. His capital, Orchha, and another fort, Irich, were captured. He sent his son Vikramajit to serve in the Deccan campaign. But

when Jhujhar Singh attacked Chaurgadh, the capital of Raja Prem Narayan and killed him, Prem Narayan's son appealed to the emperor for help. So Shah Jahan sent three big armies under Prince Aurangzib, a lad of 16, to invade his territories and he appointed a kinsman of Jhujhar Singh, Devi Singh by name, as Raja of Orchha. The armies captured the forts of Orchha, Dhamuni and Chaurgadh, October, 1635. Jhujhar Singh and Vikramajit fled into Gondvan, where the Gonds murdered them. Their families fell into the hands of the victors. The ladies were compelled to accept service in the imperial harem. Devi Singh was now installed on the throne of Orchha. But the Bundela chiefs crowned Jujhar's infant, Prithvi Singh, who was deputed and confined at Gwalior in 1639. But the Bundela resistance did not abate. Champatrai of Mahoba and his son, Chhatrasal, ravaged imperial territories and committed depredations on the people throughout Mughal dominion.

Shah Jahan completed the conquest of Ahmednagar. A special reason spurred

The Deccan. Annexation of Ahmednagar, 1633. the emperor on in his policy.

Khan Jahan Lodi and his confederates had fled into the Deccan and had leagued themselves with Ahmednagar and Bijapur. So Shah Jahan sent powerful armies to invade the Deccan. A series of siege operations and guerilla warfare were the special characteristics of the campaign.

In Ahmednagar, there were two parties, one of which was led by Shahaji Bhonsle's father-in-law, Lakhji Jadhav who was murdered by the Sultan of Ahmednagar and whose brother went under the protection of the emperor. Shahaji Bhonsle, the father of Shivaji, also deserted to the imperial cause. Then there was treachery at the court of Ahmednagar. Fath Khan, the son of Malik Ambar, after killing the Sultan, raised Husain Shah, a boy of 10, to the Sultanate. He deserted the cause of his master, accepted service under Shah Jahan, surrendered Daulatabad on being threatened by Shahaji Bhonsle and thus helped in the final annexation of the Nizam Shahi dominion, 1633. Husain Shah was sent to Gwalior as state prisoner.

As said above, the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi was powerfully supported by Ahmednagar and Bijapur. The kingdom of Goalkonda had also made common cause with Ahmednagar and Shah Jahan's generals were engaged not only in the reduction of the Afghans but also in dissolving the alliance of the three Bahmani kingdoms. The Sultan of Bijapur claimed a part of the Nizam Shahi dominion as his share of the spoils. Shahaji Bhonsle set up a boy as Sultan and posed himself as the successor of Fath Khan and Malik Ambar. Shah Jahan therefore sent four armies against this triple alliance.

Peace with Bijapur and
Goalkonda. Submission
of Shahaji Bhonsle,
1633-37.

Abdulla Kutb Shah of Goalkonda at once submitted, proclaimed his subordination to the emperor and agreed to strike coin in Shah Jahan's name, 1635. The Mughals then concentrated against Bijapur. Its richest forts were plundered. So Sultan Adil Shah accepted the suzerainty of the emperor, paid a heavy war indemnity and consented to help him in reducing Shahaji Bhonsle. The forts of Parenda, Sholapur, etc., all lands conquered from it in the recent campaign and a part of the Konkan were restored to the state of Bijapur, May, 1636. Bijapur and Goalkonda thus accepted the peace, and Shahaji Bhonsle was the only enemy left to be subdued. He was hunted from fort to fort with the help of the Bijapuri armies. So he also made peace by surrendering the forts of Junner and Trimbak and accepted service under Bijapur. Thus the conquest of Ahmednagar was complete and peace was established in the Deccan. The empire in the Deccan now consisted of (1) Khandesh (2) Berar (3) Telingana (4) Daulatabad, with a revenue of Rs. 5 crores a year, with 64 forts, 53 on the hills and 11 on the plains. Prince Aurangzib was appointed governor of these possessions. He vacated his office in 1644.

The first act of Aurangzib's viceroyalty in the Deccan was the conquest

Aurangzib's Viceroyalty in the Deccan. Conquest of Baglan. and annexation of Baglan, famous for its temperate climate,

its numerous streams, and the abundance of its trees and fruits, situated between Chandore, Surat, Nandarbar and Nasik. Its two forts, Saler and Muler, were captured, and the Raja accepted service under the emperor.

It should be remembered that Badakshan and Trans-Oxiana were once the hereditary possessions of Shah Jahan's ancestors. In 1642 Nazar Muhammad became the ruler of Bulkh. He quarrelled with his son, who had to be appeased by the cession of Trans-Oxiana. Nazar Muhammad had once invaded Kabul and his men were still raiding the Afghan borders. Shah Jahan made these actions the ground of an invasion in June, 1645. He sent Raja Jai Singh from Kabul and then Prince Murad with Ali Mardan Khan. They occupied Bulkh. Nazar Muhammad fled to Persia. But a permanent occupation of such distant lands became a difficult task. Prince Murad soon returned and in 1647 Prince Aurangzib was appointed to the command of Central Asia. He succeeded in putting down Abdul Aziz, Nazar Muhammad's son and the ruler of Bokhara. The Uzbegs however so harrassed the armies that officers and men were anxious to return home. So the country was evacuated and in October, 1647, Bulkh was handed over to the grandsons of Nazar Muhammad. Thus closed the fruitless campaign of Badakshan, in

Shah Jahan's policy in
Central Asia.

which 10,000 lives were lost and four crores of rupees were wasted away in two years.

Kandahar is the gateway to India for an army, invading from Persia or Central Asia and is the key to Kandahar. Kabul and Gazni. It is also an important centre of commerce between India and Persia. We saw how it was lost in the time of Jahangir. Shah Jahan was very keen on its recovery and a god-sent gain came when the fortress was delivered by the Persian governor, Ali Mardan Khan, into the hands of the governor of Kabul. But it was a short-lived triumph only. Shah Abbas II of Persia laid siege to the fort in 1648 and compelled the garrison to surrender after a siege of 57 days. Shah Jahan, who had been hitherto indifferent to the progress of the Persians, now sent Vazir Sadulla Khan and Prince Aurangzib to recover the city and he himself encamped at Kabul to direct the operations. But the generals had no siege-artillery and the Persians were invincible in the art of defending and capturing forts. So after a siege of about 3 months Aurangzib retreated. Shah Jahan was not the man to forget the insult and the next three years were spent in making the most up-to-date preparations for the second siege of Kandahar. In 1662, Aurangzib once more became the commander and he started with 60,000 men and strong artillery from

As before, Vazir Sudulla Khan joined him from the Khaibar Pass and the emperor went to Kabul to give inspiration to the armies. But the second siege was as disgraceful a failure as the first. So the generals were ordered to retreat. A third attempt was made by Prince Dara, but after a fruitless enterprise of five months he had to beat a disgraceful retreat. These three enterprises against Kandahar cost to the Indian treasury 12 crores of rupees and a good deal of blood. Besides, the Mughal emperor stood disgraced in the eyes of all western Asia.

Aurangzib was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan again in 1653. The affairs of this part of the empire had been greatly mismanaged by the Subedars, who changed very often and by the government at Delhi. But Aurangzib improved the department of the Subedari and brought order out of chaos.

Since the conclusion of peace with the Mughals, the kingdoms of Bijapur and Goalkonda had made great progress. Goalkonda was a very prosperous state. Its population was large and industrious. Hyderabad, the capital, was noted for its trade in diamonds throughout the world. Masulipatam had acquired a world-wide reputation on account of its fine cloth. The steelworks of Nirmal and Indur, the carpet industry of Ellore, the diamond and

gold mines of Goalkonda, its forests and foreign commerce and the cultivation of tobacco and palm went to enrich the state beyond measure.

The occasions for differences between Goalkonda and Aurangzib, governor of the Deccan, were many. The annual tribute of 20 lakhs was never regularly paid. The Sultan of Goalkonda attacked Shri Ranga, Raja of the Carnatic and the successor of the king of Vijayanagar, who implored imperial assistance. The rich resources of the state were excellent temptations. Lastly the great Mir Jumla sought Mughal protection against his overlord, the Sultan.

Mir Jumla or Muhammad Sayyad was a Persian and the son of an oil merchant. In 1630 he came over to India to carve out a fortune. First he engaged himself in the business of diamonds but afterwards he attracted the attention of Abdulla Kutb Shah, who made him his prime minister. Mir Jumla was a man of remarkable military and administrative talents. He engaged Europeans to organize a strong artillery division in his army, which he raised to a very high pitch of discipline and efficiency. He conquered the provinces of Kadapa and Arcat, and by plundering old temples hoarded immense wealth. The diamond mines of the state were farmed out to him. His *jagirs* in the Carnatic were equal to one whole kingdom, yielding 40 lakhs a year. He was one of the richest men in Asia. He could

muster an army of 25000. Such an influential position in the Carnatic roused his master's jealousy. The Sultan tried to blind him but his victim slipped away from the grasp. Mir Jumla now made friends with the state of Bijapur and with Aurangzib. So the Sultan imprisoned his family. But Mir Jumla openly went over to the emperor who made him Mansabdar of the empire. The Sultan of Goalkondla was asked to provide for his escort to the north and to release his family at once. Abdulla Kutb Shah. hesitated and the result was war, 1655.

Aurangzib and his son, Prince Muhammad

Campaign against
Goalkonda. Sultan, at once entered Haiderabad and mercilessly plundered

it. Abdulla Khan fled to Goalkondla, which was besieged. The Kutb Shahi dynasty was on the verge of dissolution. Aurangzib advised his father to depose the Shia monarch and to annex his rich heritage. But Shah Jahan, on the advice of Dara, instructed the prince not to visit the ruler with punishments which were deserved not by him, but by his Vazir. So peace was made. The Sultan paid a large indemnity: the district of Ramgir or Manikdurg was ceded to the emperor and his princess was married to Muhammad Sultan, Aurangzib's son. Mir Jumla's family was released. The emperor made him prime minister and the Carnatic, the scene of his exploits, was held by the emperor on his behalf.

During the respite given to him by the peace of 1637, Sultan Muhammad Adil

Bijapur.

Shah of Bijapur extended his dominion into Mysore and the Carnatic and in 1653 his possessions stretched from the Arabian sea to the east excepting what belonged to the state of Goalkonda. Shah Jahan had carried on friendly relations with Muhammad Adil Shah, who was a pious and just Sultan. But since the last few years, differences had cropped up between the two courts on questions of etiquette and ceremony. The court of Bijapur had recently appropriated to itself a position of equality with the empire of the Mughals. Muhammed Adil Shah died in November, 1656. Already, Mir Jumla was Vazir at Delhi and he pressed upon Shah Jahan the need for an aggressive policy in the Deccan. The new Sultan of Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah, was a boy of 18 years. His right to the throne was questioned by Aurangzib. The nobles of Bijapur quarrelled among themselves for power and intrigued against their master. Taking advantage of these weaknesses, Aurangzib invaded it. He captured Bedar, Kalyan and other important forts. Annexation would have followed soon. But Shah Jahan interceded. An indemnity of one and a half crores of rupees was paid to Shah Jahan, who also got the conquered forts of Bedar, Kalyan and Parenda and the Konkan.

Soon after this Shah Jahan fell ill and a prize more valuable than the Deccan

Shivaji.

was at hand for the victorious

Prince Subedar, Aurangzib. Shivaji distinguished himself during this time. He helped his lord, the Sultan of Bijapur, seized Junner and raided the adjoining Mughal lands. Aurangzib made every effort to chastise this new power in the Konkan.

Jahangir's army had not succeeded in conquering little Tibet, near Kashmir.

Tibet.

So Shah Jahan sent Zafar Khan, governor of Kashmir, against the Marzban of Tibet, Abdal. His forts were taken, 1636-37. One Mirza Jan wrested Tibet from the emperor's servants but he was reduced in 1651.

Raghunath, a local Zamindar of Bengal, com-

Kuch Behar.

plained to the governor of Bengal that Parikshit, Raja of Kuch Haju or Kamrup, had imprisoned his wives and children and implored the Subedar's help for recovering them. The Raja's kinsman, Laxmi Narayan, ruler of Kuch Behar, made common cause with the emperor. So the forts of Kuch Behar were captured and measures were taken to restrain the local people from rising by constructing a series of outposts in the conquered territory, 1637.

In Shah Jahan's time Jagat Singh, son of the Raja of Kangra, Kolis in Guja-

Other political events.

rat and Kathis in Kathiawar,

rose in rebellion but were suppressed, 1640-42. The Rana of Udaipur, Jagat Singh, repaired and strengthened the fort of Chitor; so he was attacked and compelled to apologize, 1653-4. The chiefs of Kumaon were compelled to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty, 1654-55. Shah Jahan established ice-houses there-in Sirmur, north of Delhi.

Shah Jahan had four sons-Dara Shukoh, Muhammad Shuja, Aurangzib and Murad. Dara, the eldest, was

The four sons of
Shah Jahan.

42 years old on the eve of the war of succession. He kept himself near his father and though he was Subedar of Allahabad, the Punjab, Multan and Behar, he was allowed to administer those provinces through deputies. The whole administration of the empire was practically under his direction. Shah Jahan had made him *Shah-i-buland-ikbal*, the King of Lofty Fortune and a Mansabdar of 60,000 horse and he and his sons enjoyed royal revenues and dignities. A great savant of philosophy and a master of the teachings of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism, he had translated the Upanishads in Persian with the help of Pandits from Benares. Of course, he was no enemy of Islam. But he was tolerant of the faiths of others like Akbar and Jahangir and he liked to be known as a Sufi. This virtue was in one way an easy passport to fame and eminence, as the career of the great Akbar had so conspicuously

demonstrated. But Dara's prolonged stay at the court had incapacitated him for the office of a leader of men. His influential position had turned his head—he was indolent, supercilious, open to flattery and without experience of mankind, war or administration.

The second son, Shuja, was 41 at the time.

Shuja. He had been working as governor of Bengal for the last seventeen years and was therefore absolutely out of touch with the court of Delhi. Brave and intelligent, he was indolent and incapable of sustained action. The pleasures and climate of Bengal had made him despise a vigorous life.

Leaving aside Aurangzib for the present, we say a few words about the youngest of the four Shahzadas. Prince Murad. Shah Jahan had given him splendid opportunities to develop in the Deccan, in Bulkh, and in Gujarat, of which he was Subedar in 1657. But the prince was incompetent. His habits were wasteful and extravagant and flatterers swarmed round him. His only virtue was his valour in battle.

Shah Jahan was taken ill in September, 1657, at Delhi. Fearing that his end was approaching, the aged monarch nominated Dara as his successor and shifted to Agra for change. The news of the emperor's

illness spread like wild fire all over the empire. Every one took him as dead, because Dara had foolishly excluded visitors from seeking interviews and had for some time even suppressed the fact of his father's ill-health. He started strengthening his position. He recalled Mir Jumla and other distinguished officers and generals from the Deccan to the north, transferred Murad from Gujarat to Berar, and on hearing that he and Suhja in Bengal had crowned themselves, sent armies against them on permission from the emperor and arrested their Vakils at court. Of course, the crown-prince acted in the name of the emperor. But the curtain had fallen on the reign of Shah Jahan.

Murad was the first to act. He killed his honest, innocent, and able Diwan, Ali Naki Khan, plundered Surat, crowned himself as emperor, made secret alliances with Aurangzib and Shuja, and sent letters for help even to the Shah of Persia. Then he started for Malwa, February, 1658. Aurangzib acted with caution and discretion. He secured the Deccan by treating with Bijapur and Goalkonda, concealed his designs upon the throne from all except Mir Jumla whom he prevented from going to the north by arresting him and seizing his property and war-material, alienated the court nobles from Dara through his sister, Raushan Ara and other confidential agents, collected a large

Agreement between
Murad and Aurangzib.

army and entered into an agreement with that fool of a brother and prince, Murad, that after defeating Dara and stamping out his heresy they would divide the empire, Murad taking the Punjab, Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Sindh and Gujarat and one-third of the booty, Aurangzib remaining content with the rest. Then Aurangzib marched to Hindustan and united his army with that of Murad at Dipalpur in April, 1658. The fratricidal war opened in right earnest.

Dara sent Raja Jashwant Singh of Jodhpur and Kasim Khan against Murad.

Battles of Dharmat and Samugadh. Dara's Discomfiture. The two armies met at Dharmat, 14 miles southwest of

Ujjan, on the 15th of April, 1658. The Rajput chief was no general and he had no clear orders for action. Some Mussalman colleagues of his left the field on the opening of the action. Kasim Khan fled away without fighting. The result was defeat. 6000 Rajputs fell that day: "The ground was dyed crimson with blood like a tulip-bed. The dead formed heaps. The daggers grew blunt with slaughter." The Maharaja was compelled by his officers to leave the field and fly to Jodhpur. Immense booty fell into the victors' hands.

The victorious princes now marched on, crossed the Chambal, evading the strong entrenchments raised up by Dara to block their progress and arrived at Samugadh near Agra, where their enemy

had assembled a motely and traitorous crowd of 60,000 men. The battle of Samugadh, fought on the 29th of April, 1658, was a decisive action. Dara fought valiantly but indiscreetly and being hard-pressed he dismounted from his elephant and seated himself on a horse. Failing to see their master, the troops fled away. Dara went to Agra, almost alone, leaving 10,000 men dead on the field, some of them being the best generals of the age, e. g. Chhatra Sal Hada and Rustam Khan.

Aurangzib now entered Agra in triumph, seized the fort, made Shah Jahan a prisoner, prisoner in his own palace, took control of government and then set out against Dara in the direction of Delhi, where he proclaimed himself as emperor Alamgir.

All power was now in Aurangzib's hands. Murad was keenly disappointed at the studied indifference with which his brother was treating him after the victory of Samugadh. So he increased his army by lavish grants of money. But this only accentuated the difference between the brothers. Once Murad was invited to a dinner-party by Aurangzib in celebration of his recovery from wounds, was treated with sumptuous dishes and wine, was asked to sleep in the tent and when asleep, was disarmed, captured and sent to Salimgadh. His large

army of 20,000 melted away. Murad and his son were transferred in 1659 to Gwalior. A plot was discovered to rescue him. So Aurangzib made up his mind. On his initiative, the son of Ali Naki, Murad's Diwan at Ahmedabad, accused the prince of murder. He was tried by a Kazi, declared guilty and beheaded, December, 1661.*

Aurangzib pursued Dara to the Punjab. So Dara left that province and went Pursuit, capture, and execution of Dara. to Bukkhar. Even there Aurangzib's men gave him no rest. Deserted by his trustiest followers, Dara reached Shehvan and was prevented from taking the road to Persia only by the entreaties of his wives and servants. He went to Cuchch whose ruler helped him in crossing the *Ran* and going to Kathiawar. With the Jam of Navanagar's help, Dara went to Ahmedabad, where Aurangzib's father-in-law, Shah Nawaz Khan, gave him valuable aid. Raja Jashwant Singh called him to Ajmere but on the pressure of Aurangzib on Marwar, he failed to receive help from that quarter. Still Dara fought a three days' action at Deorai near Ajmere against Aurangzib but was defeated, March, 1661. So once more the prince fled away. Rajputana and Gujarat refused to admit

or aid him. So he turned to the *Ran*. Even the Rao of Cutch refused him shelter, though he escorted him safely to Sindh.

Being blocked on all sides, Dara decided to go to Persia, took the road to Kandahar and went to Siwistan; but again he surrendered to the harem's entreaties; he resolved to go to Afghanistan and stopped at Dadar near the Bolan pass, where he lost his wife, Nadira Banu Begum, daughter of Prince Perwiz. Its chief, Malik Jivan, whose life he had once saved against the wrath of Shah Jahan, gave him shelter. But the treacherous Afghan refused to allow Dara to fly to Kabul. He captured him and handed him over to Bahadur Khan and Jai Singh with one son and two daughters in June, 1661. The luckless prisoners were brought to Delhi. The ex-crown prince was driven through its streets, seated on the back of a dirty female elephant. The people could no longer contain themselves; a little disturbance of peace followed. But it decided the prisoner's fate. Dara was tried for heresy and sentenced to death. His sister, Jahan Ara and the victim himself, craved for mercy. But the heart of Aurangzib was as hard as stone. He refused to grant it because Dara "was once a usurper and a mischief-maker." His head was cut off, August, 1661. Two centuries later, in September, 1858, three Timurids were shot dead just near Dara's earthly remains by Captain Hodson. As Prof. Jadunath Sarkar observes; "In

brothers' blood did Aurangzib mount to the throne and in the blood of his children's children did the royal name pass away from his race." The French physician and traveller, Bernier, was present with Dara and he has given us a graphic description of his flight and execution.

Sulaiman Shukoh had accompanied Jai Singh and Dilir Khan against Shuja

Destruction of Sulaiman Shukoh.

and was asked by his father, Dara, to return at once to him, because he was threatened by Murad and Aurangzib. So peace was made with Prince Shuja and Sulaiman hurried backwards. On his way to Delhi, he was deserted by the two generals, who joined Aurangzib. So he fell back on Allahabad and thence marched to the Punjab to meet his distracted father. But he was disappointed. The troops of his enemy blocked his progress. So he went under the protection of the Raja of Garwal, Prithvi Raj, who gave him his daughter in marriage. Aurangzib tried to seduce the Raja through Jai Singh. The Raja's son gave his consent and Sulaiman was handed over to Ram Singh, Jai Singh's son, in January, 1661. Aurangzib promised him good treatment but afterwards administered to him the *pausta*, a poisonous drink, in his prison at Gwalior. Sulaiman died of the slow effects of it in May, 1662.

Shuja assumed the title of emperor at Raj Mahal in Bengal on hearing of

Defeat, pursuit and disappearance of Prince Shuja- his father's illness and advanced but was defeated at Bahadurpur

near Benares by Dara's gene-

erals, Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, February, 1658. Shuja fled away to Munghir, where the victorious generals confirmed him in the government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Dara wanted conciliation, as already his enemies were marching on the capital. Then Aurangzib became emperor. He first sent friendly communications to Shuja. But he knew Aurangzib too well to be taken in. During the absence of the latter in the Punjab, Shuja advanced with a well-equipped army up to Allahabad without resistance. But at Khajwa, he was opposed and defeated by Aurangzib himself, January, 1659. Shuja fled away. Prince Muhammad Sultan and Mir Jumla were sent in pursuit of him. So he vacated all the lands west of the Ganges from Raj Mahal to Hugli. He made Tanda his new capital and his position was greatly strengthened by the desertion of Aurangzib's eldest son, Sultan Muhammad. But the emperor created a diversion against him on the left bank of the Ganges and Mir Jumla deprived him of all the boats and sources of men and money from the eastern provinces. Surrounding him from the north-east he compelled him to fly to Dacca. Even

there he was not allowed to stay. Should Shuja now let himself fall into Aurangzib's clutches to be beheaded or poisoned? In the words of Prof. J. Sarkar "No! better, better far the cruelest death in the most barbarous of foreign lands than such an end as that of Dara or Murad. Farewell to Hindustan with all its wealth, joys and culture, if Aurangzib was to be its king. Shuja's mind was made up. Others might stay behind, but for *him* Hindustan was a home no longer." He fled to Arakan and nothing was heard of him thereafter.

Aurangzib got himself crowned once more at

Second Coronation of Delhi, 5, June, 1659, with great
Aurangzib. pomp.

Shah Jahan, subjected to highly insulting treatment by Aurangzib, passed away

Shah Jahan's end.

the life of a closely watched state-prisoner in the fort of Agra in prayers and repentance, faithfully served by his daughter, Princess Jahan Ara. He died in January, 1666. Aurangzib had neither the courtesy nor the sense of filial duty to arrange for a funeral worthy of the rank of his deceased father. The old man was buried by the side of his wife in the Taj.

So much about the political history of the reign of Shah Jahan. Now we take up its domestic policy.

We have the official historian's and the

European travellers' testimony
Famine in Gujarat and to describe the famine which
the Deccan.

broke out in the years 1629-1630 in the Nizam Shahi and Gujarati territories. Abdul Hamid Lahori observes in his *Padshah Nama*: "Life was offered for a loaf but none could buy; rank was to be sold for a cake but none cared for it; the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold.....Men began to devour each other, and the flesh of the son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying blocked the roads." Shah Jahan directed his officers to establish free kitchens and distributed large cash among the people. He abolished taxes amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue and Jagirdars and Mansabdars made similar reductions in their demand from the people. It is unjust to a ruler of the seventeenth century to say that his famine relief policy did not compare favourably with modern administrative methods for the same.

When touring in Kashmir, Shah Jahan ordered his officers to guard the Canals, etc. cultivated fields on both sides to prevent the troops from trampling on the crops and examine the damages done by them, so that those who suffered might be compensated for their losses. Ali Mardani Khan helped the emperor in irrigating large tracts of land near Lahore by

constructing canals on the Ravi.

In many respects the broad-minded policy of Akbar and Jahangir was abandoned by Shah Jahan. He ordered the destruction of many temples which had been started at Benares and other places in the last reign and prohibited the construction of new places of worship by the Hindus in 1632. The *firman* was literally executed by his officers. Some 400 Christian prisoners from Hugli were compelled to embrace Islam or distributed as slaves amongst the Amirs. Two sons and one grandson of Jujhar Singh, the Bundela rebel, were compelled to embrace Islam and the Rajput ladies, who were captured from Bundelkhand, were ordered to serve as ladies-in-waiting in the imperial harem. Two other sons of the same chief refused to accept Islam and were ordered to be executed. Shah Jahan did not release Raja Indradyumna of Malwa even for a ransom, though recommended by Prince Aurangzib. In Kashmir, the emperor forcibly stopped the old custom of marriage between Hindus and Mussalmans. After his installation, he showed reluctance to the employment of Rajputs, though he had the wisdom to see that the policy was not logically applied. He abolished the practice of keeping the calendar according to the solar year and restored the Mahomedan (lunar) system, though it was very

inconvenient from the administrative viewpoint. He did away with the ceremony of prostration before the royal throne, as it was opposed to Islam.

✓ The reign of Shah Jahan was in one way one of the brightest, the most glorious periods in the annals of our land. Excepting the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi, complete peace reigned in the empire. Part of this glory was of course due to the great administrative reforms of Akbar's reign. But Shah Jahan had the political sense not to upset his grandfather's arrangement and to keep a vigilant eye on the work of his servants. The efficiency and benevolence of his administration were attested by the Hindu historian, Brindaban, son of the Diwan of Prince Dara, who wrote in the time of Aurangzib. He observes that the emperor never hesitated to punish evil-doers, to appoint honest and intelligent officers in the districts, to examine the annual statements of revenue, to promote the welfare of his subjects, to improve agriculture, to encourage works of public utility and to collect a large treasure and he adds that complaints of injustice were few.

But there was a dark side to this rosy picture, presented to us by Hindu and Mussalman historians and even European travellers and writers like Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci. Shah Jahan's reign registered one regrettable departure from the wise

and liberal policies of Akbar and Jahangir. He reverted to the Afghan system of destruction of temples and forced conversions to Islam. Of course, he refrained from ordering the re-institution of the hated *Jaziya*, the exclusion of Hindus from the services of the state or a universal persecution of those who did not agree to the Sunni creed. But certain actions of the reign pointed to the coming storm. Then, Shah Jahan blundered in his foreign policy. He wasted away money and blood in the fruitless campaign of Central Asia. He failed to make effective arrangements for the defence and recovery of Kandahar. In the Deccan, he stopped at the annexation of Ahmednagar. By giving twenty years' peace to Bijapur and Goalkonda, he gave them time enough to extend their empire over the weak successors of the Raja of Vijayanagar and to create the formidable host of Shiledars and Bargirs who, a few years later, developed into a source of trouble for them and the Mughals. The emperor's intolerance in Bundelkhand estranged its chiefs from him and his imprudent ordinance against the erection of temples produced a feeling of hostility in the minds of the crowds of tourists, who flocked to places of Hindu pilgrimage from the Deccan. Shah Jahan mounted the throne with violence. This was a bad precedent. He vacated the same after greater violence and to the last day of his dynasty the question of succession was

an occasion for intrigue, bloodshed and murder. But Shah Jahan has been too severely handled by some. If he rebelled as prince Khurram, he rebelled against Nur Jahan, not against Jahangir. If he showed immense partiality to Dara, he did it because Dara was the crown-prince and heir-apparent. Nor should we forget that Dara was a hated Sufi and Shah Jahan an intolerant Sunni and that he was the most loyal of the four sons. Elphinstone compares Shah Jahan's reign with that of the Roman emperor, Severus; but we should accept it with one qualification—the foreign policy of Severus was more successful than that of Shah Jahan. Wheeler unjustly censures Shah Jahan. To say that Shah Jahan had no practical genius, no manly ambition, no administrative capacity, and that he ruled only to be courted, flattered and admired, is only to belie all that we know of him as prince and emperor. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar quotes the following panegyric in appreciation of Shah Jahan's reign:

The people are light of heart as the
Emperor bears the heavy burden.

Disorder has fallen into a deep sleep

Through his wakefulness.

Shah Jahan is known as a great builder and

the chief monument of his reign
Art, etc. The Taj. is the celebrated *Taj*, raised by
him in memory of his Begum, Mumtaz, who died

in child-bed in 1630 at Burhanpur. The emperor purchased a garden from Raja Jai Singh, grandson of Man Singh, on the banks of the Jamna, invited the best architects of the age to submit plans for the monument—and one of the artists was an Italian, named Geronimo Verroneo—employed craftsmen from diverse parts of Asia and in the course of 17 years, got the great work completed. The Taj has been the subject of manysided criticisms from experts in art. But we should remember that it was dedicated to a wife, who was loved beyond imagination—it was meant to be feminine. As Edwin Arnold said—it was not architecture but the proud passion of an emperor, wrought into living stone. The Taj defies analysis or definition. In one way, it represented the consummation, the culmination, of a great epoch in Indian art. It is “a dream in marble or a tear transformed into a stone, formed by Titans and finished by jewellers.”

Another splendid work of Shah Jahan was the Delhi fort. The foundations

The Fort of Delhi. “A
Heaven on Earth.”

of Shahjahanabad or the Fort of Delhi are laid in 1639 and the fort was completed in 1648 at a cost of 60 lacs of rupees. The canal of Firoz Shah Sultan was repaired and a new one was excavated running along the palaces in the fort. It was named the *Nahr-i-Bihisht*.

Many royal houses in the fort have been

démolished in course of time but still it contains within itself many stately halls, the principal ones being the Naubat Khana, the *Diwani-i-Am* with a recess behind, decorated with excellent designs of birds, flowers, fruit, etc., the *Rang Mahal*, the *Diwan-i-Khas* where the peacock-throne was kept and over the arches of the north and south ends of whose central chamber can still be read the famous inscription.—“*If there is a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this*” and the Hamams or baths.

The art and beauty of these buildings can never be understood unless they are seen. They give us a vivid idea of the elegant taste of the emperor and the development of Indian art and the social life of the court in the 17th century.

The *Jami Masjid* is another important building outside the *Kila* or fort.

The Rajput princes of the time also built lavishly. Raja Vir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl, spent 33 lacs on the temple of Keshava at Mathura.

The arts of painting and drawing reached their highest watermark. Many artists could draw with remarkable success with a brush of only one squirrel-hair.

Shah Jahan had come in possession of many valuable jewels, “each of which
The Peacock-throne. might serve as an ear-drop for

Venus; or would adorn the girdle of the Sun." "He wanted that they should be set to a great throne. He therefore handed them over to Bebadal Khan, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department; and also purchased for the same purpose pearls, jewels, etc. worth 286 lacs of rupees and 1000 *tolas* of gold, worth 14 lacs. The throne was to be three *gaz* in length and two and a half in breadth, and five in height. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with occasional gems; the inside was to be thickly set with rubies, garnets and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve emerald columns. On the top of each pillar there were to be two peacocks thickly set with gems, and between each two peacocks, a tree, set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The ascent was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. This throne was completed in seven years at a cost of one crore of rupees. Of the eleven jewelled recesses or *takhtās* formed around it for cushions, the middle one, intended for the seat of the emperor, cost 10 lacs of rupees. A *masnavi* with a date was placed upon the inside of the canopy in letters of green enamel." Shah Jahan sat on this throne for the first time on his return from the Deccan in 1634 on the Nāuroz. Nadir Shah carried away this costly seat. Tavernier has given a full description of it.

*CHAPTER XI

Aurangzib. The Mughal Hegemony, 1658-1707.**(1) Northern India and domestic policy.**

Aurangzib or emperor Alamgir I, sixth child of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz

Early Career.

Mahal, was born at Dahod in Gujarat in October, 1618. His father had sent him and his eldest brother, Prince Dara, as hostages to Jahangir at the time of his submission in 1627. Aurangzib had received splendid education. Master of Hindi, Persian, Urdu and Arabic, he could write excellent prose in those languages. He read voluminously on theology, religion, and morals. When sixteen, he was created a Mansabdar of 10,000 and put at the nominal command of the armies sent to Bundelkhand. From 1636 to 1644 he was Subedar of the Deccan, when he conquered Baglan and made treaties with Bijapur and Goalkonda. Shah Jahan nominated him governor of Gujarat, where he stayed only a year. Then he was made commander of the army which was sent to Central Asia. But the Mughals suffered serious reverses and the prince returned defeated and disgraced, 1652.

*The contents of this chapter are based upon Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* which covers 2000 pages in five volumes and which is the result of Herculean work spread over twenty laborious years.

He was now asked to take up his appointment in the province of Multan and Sindh, 1647-52. In 1653 once more Aurangzib became Subedar of the Deccan. There he won friendships and distinctions which secured to him, five years later, the throne and empire of Hindustan. Thus Aurangzib was able to establish a great reputation as administrator and general in the course of the various apprenticeships.

The character of the new emperor is thus

described by the author of the Aurangzib's Character. *Mirāt-i-Alum*, an eye witness.

"The Emperor, a great worshipper of God, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of the Imam Abu Hanifa. Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in the adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the *masjid* and then at home, both in congregation and privately with the most heart-felt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days and he reads the Friday prayers in the Jami Masjid with the common people of the Mahomedan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights. From his great piety, he passes whole nights in the mosque, which is in his palace and keeps company with men of devotion. In privacy he never sits on the throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of

empire...Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices and all their worshiping places and their great temples have been thrown down and destroyed...His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *Kalima* to many infidels with success, and invests them with *Khilats* and other favours...All the mosques in the empire are repaired at the public expense...Pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors and stipends have been fixed for scholars. The emperor caused a standard exposition of the law of the *Hanafi* sect to be prepared and the work was ordered to be translated into Persian...The emperor is perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law...He has learnt

the Koran by heart. He writes a very elegant *Naksh* hand. He is an elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification but agreeably to the words of God, "Poets deal in falsehoods," he abstains from it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression."

This is the faultless characterization of Aurangzib, given by historians. He was self-possessed in battle, and restrained in speech. His character was above blame—after 1680 he remained content with but one wife. His personal attention to matters of state was immense. His life was simple to a fault—he rejected even the most common delicacies of life. But this character had grave defects. His religion degenerated into fanaticism. To the Sunnis he was a *Zinda Pir*—a living saint—to others he was a veritable scourge. His political system was narrow, sectional, racial and bigoted. He had no imagination. He trusted none. As age told upon him, he liked to be surrounded by sycophants and dandies without initiative, qualification or experience, who only echoed the sentiments of their ruined master. He pitied the unknown poor; but those who were nearest to him in blood became the victims of his remorseless vengeance. He had no political far-sightedness. He was so

obstinate as to persevere even in a lost cause. His reign began and ended with war, violence and anarchy.

The reign of Aurangzib may

Two parts of the reign. be divided into two parts, the first covering his activities in the north 1659-1681, the second covering his activities in the south, 1681-1707. We take up the first.

Shah Jahan had made the Rajas of Kuch Behar

and Assam tributaries. On the eve of the fratricidal war, Prem Kuch Behar and Assam. Narayan, Rāja of Kuch Behar, declared independence and Jayadhvaja, King of the Ahoms in the west, conquered Kāmrup or the Mughal part of the province of Assam. Aurangzib tolerated them for three years but when Shujā fled to Arakan and the empire was under him, he sent his Vazīr, Mir Jumla, to the east with an army of 42,000, a large flotilla of war-boats and a powerful artillery. The enemy fled away and Kuch Behar became a Mughal province, December, 1661. Then Mir Jumla invaded Assam, the home of the Ahoms. Their king escaped and Assam was annexed, March, 1662. But the enemy grew strong in the rainy season and he hampered the peaceful occupation of his country by the invader. Pestilence and famine broke out in the Mughal camp and Mir Jumla himself fell ill. So a treaty was made with Jayadhvaja, who ceded a part of Assam and paid a large indemnity, Janu-

ary, 1663. Mir Jumla died soon after this. So the Ahoms threw off the new yoke. Aurangzib sent Raja Ram Singh against them, but without result, 1667-76.

Aurangzib had ordered Mir Jumla to trace the whereabouts of Prince Shuja, who had fled into Arakan, and to capture Chatgaon, because its men, native and even Portuguese, were a constant source of trouble to free navigation and trade. Mir Jumla's mantle fell on Shaista Khan, the emperor's maternal uncle. He seduced the Portuguese allies of the enemy, and captured Chatgaon in January, 1666. Hundreds of Bengali peasants were released from captivity and the victory caused indescribable joy all over Bengal.

In 1667, the Yusufzais on the northwest raided the districts of Attak and Peshawar. So the emperor sent three armies to attack them, one from Attack, the other from Kabul, and the third from the capital. They burnt villages, carried off cattle and destroyed crops. Peace seemed in sight. But in April, 1672, the Afridis closed the Khaibar, inflicted a crushing defeat on the governor of Peshawar, and forced him to retreat. This disaster was followed by a general rising of the Pathans along the whole frontier. A second imperial army found its grave near the Karapa pass in February, 1674. This catastrophe brought the emperor himself to the frontier. He offered jagirs, pensions and other temptations. So some tribesmen

made peace. The rest were hunted out and suppressed. During the able, just, tactful and skilful governorship of Amir Khan the frontier was at absolute peace. His wife, Sahibji, was her husband's clever partner in government, 1679-97.

The Jats were an agricultural community in the district of Mathura, the personal *jagir* of the Vazir of Shah Jahan, Sadulla Khan, whose administration was very liberal. But Aurangzib's relentless policy of persecution and the oppressive conduct of local officers compelled 20,000 men of the community to rise. They found an able leader in one Gokul. They slew the Faujdar and defied the imperial armies. The situation became so grave that the emperor himself had to move against them. They were defeated after a stubborn fight near Tilput and Gokul was captured and hacked to pieces without mercy, January, 1670. But the Jat trouble did not subside and Raja Ram and Chudaman Jat gave no rest to the emperor. The latter was the founder of the royal house of Bharatpur.

The Satnamis or *Mundias* were a Hindu religious sect, who worshipped Satnamis. *Satya Nama*, the True Name, and lived like Fakirs. Once a scuffle broke out between a Satnami peasant and a Paidar or foot soldier near Narnol. It soon developed into a formidable rising, which even the best general could not

suppress—so terrible, was the effect produced by the tenacity and valour of the rebels. They destroyed mosques, pillaged villages, cut off communications with Delhi, defeated the Fanjdar of Narnol and set up an independent administration. It became imperatively necessary to stamp out this revolt. So Aurangzib sent 10,000 men with strong artillery. But the soldiers were terror-struck from the beginning—they thought their enemies to be under the effect of special charms. So the emperor wrote out verses from the Quran in his own hand and attached them to the banners of the army. The Satnamis fought valiantly but were defeated and crushed, May, 1672.

The Sikh rising was a more serious event.

Sikhs. Guru Tej Bahadur's succession to the office of chief priest of the Sikhs in 1664 synchronised exactly with the inauguration of the policy of temple destruction and forced conversions to Islam by Aurangzib. The Sikh practice of collecting taxes from the Guru's followers entrenched on the prerogatives of the emperor. Guru Tej Bahadur, who had once fought on behalf of Aurangzib in Assam, openly identified himself with the party of opposition. So he was called to the court, imprisoned, tortured for five days on refusal to accept Islam and beheaded, 1676. By this action, Aurangzib invited the Sikhs to open revolt. Guru Govind succeeded Tej Bahadur. "He turned jackals into tigers and sparr-

ows into hawk." He converted the peaceful Sikh into the lion who could destroy the Mughal and found a kingdom on his ruin. He led his implacable disciples from the hills of the north Punjab against the imperial officers, jagirdars and Rajput chiefs and gave no peace to Aurangzib till his death. Sikh marauding became a common feature in the Punjab henceforth.

The Jats rose because administration in the Mathura district was very oppressive. The Satnamis were a sect of the Jats. The Satnami revolt was a chance occurrence, the like of which breaks out many a time even now. The Sikh quarrel arose out of the cruel punishment inflicted on Guru Tej Bahadur. These events had of course connection with Aurangzib's religious policy. But the quarrel with the Rajputs was of the emperor's own seeking and it became so general and widespread that it engulfed him, his family, and his empire.

The state of Jodhpur lay on the way from Delhi to Ahmedabad. It flanked the territories of Udaipur to its east. Its chief, Maharaja Jashwant Singh, had opposed Aurangzib and had fought for Prince Dara; he had once declared for Shuja; he had not shown zeal against Shivaji. Of course, after 1658, the Raja had yielded to military pressure and political expediency and had served on the north-west frontier. But he and specially his

state held the premier position in Rajputana; and his family had thrown their weight against the re-imposition of the *Jaziya* and the policy of a complete Mahomedanization of the empire. Aurangzib therefore cherished the idea of curtailing the social and political influence of Jodhpur. That opportunity soon came. In December, 1678, occurred the death of Maharaja Jashwant Singh at Jamrud; of which he was the Thunadar or commander, without a son. At once the emperor sent civil and military officers to Marwar to take possession of its forts and territories and he himself encamped at Ajmere with a large army to direct its annexation. Temples were demolished and idols were melted and placed under the steps of the great mosque at the imperial metropolis. At the same time a mock Rajput rule was created at Jodhpur under Indra Singh, grand-son of Amar Singh, brother of Jashwant, who agreed to pay Rs. 30 lacs as tribute. At the very time the two Maharanis of the late Maharaja gave birth to two sons, one of whom died but the other lived and was named Ajit Singh. The emperor refused to believe in the legitimacy of the child; nay, he went a step further. He offered that the child should be brought up at the imperial court as a Mussalman. At the same time he began bringing up under the care of his daughter, Princess Zeb-un-nissa, a milk-maid's son who was named

Muhammadi Raj as rival to Ajit Singh.

Consternation and disgust seized the Rathods when they came to know the imperial plan. Their religion, their land; their very existence were in danger. The infant Ajit was at Delhi. Soon rescue parties were organised and the prince was safely carried to the home of his ancestors by the brave and intrepid Durgadas, son of Askaran, minister of Marwar, while in the streets of Delhi his devoted Rajputs with two slave girls sacrificed their lives to prevent the prince and his party from being captured; July, 1679. War against Marwar was now formally opened. Aurangzib deposed Indra Singh; sat down at Ajmere and sent his son, Prince Akbar, against the Rajputs with a well-equipped army. The enemy retired into the adjacent hills and Ajit was removed to Mount Abu. Marwar was annexed. But Durgadas and his valiant band were at large and the annexation was good only on paper.

The invasion and annexation of Marwar threatened the integrity of Mewar. Mewar annexed. The Hindus were infuriated against the wanton destruction of temples and the re-imposition of the *Jaziya*. They looked up to their ancient chief, the Maharana of Udaipur, successor of Ramachandra, to defend their hearths and homes. Besides, Maharana Raj Singh of Udaipur

was a cousin of the dowager Maharani of Jodhpur. The Rathods appealed to their bretheren; the Sisodias, to take up the common cause and put in a stiff fight against the invader. So the Maharana closed the pass of Deobari, Aurangzib poured his artillery and troops into Mewar and the Rajputs retreated to the hills. Prince Azam entered Udaipur and other towns and destroyed their temples. Mewar was annexed. The emperor returned home, leaving Prince Akbar to take care of the enemy, 1679-1680.

The Mughals had triumphed; but the Rajputs began a system of guerilla warfare, which wore out the strength of the imperialists. To the former the land was known in every nook and corner while the latter had to make their way against a hostile population and in an unknown country. Their bold and frequent sallies even as far as Ajmere struck terror in the mind of the invader who dared not penetrate into the jungles and hills now swarming with Rajput horse. As Prof. Sarkar says, "The rough circle, formed by the massed hills of Mewar and stretching from Udaipur westwards to Kamalmir and from the Rajasamudra lake southwards to Salumbra, resembled a vast impregnable fort with three gates, opening east, north and west, through which the garrison could sally out in full force and crush any isolated Mughal outpost. The emperor's plan

of campaign was virtually that of besieging this immense natural circle and breaking into it through its three gates, Udaipur, Rajasamudra and Deosuri." Prince Akbar could not break into this natural defence. So Aurangzib sent his two sons, princes Azam and Muazam. They too failed. Prince Akbar was now ordered to leave Chitor and invade Rai Singh's places of refuge from the Marwar side. Akbar stood disgraced before the world and felt the humiliation bitterly. He began to doubt the wisdom of his father's plan and policy in Rajputana.

This young prince of twenty-three years, the darling of an imperious but suspicious father, was being approached by the Rajputs since long. Now he was pressed by them to reverse his father's bigoted policy, and to rule like his great name-sake over India as a national emperor. They even promised to accompany him in his march against Aurangzib who was at Ajmere. So four Ulamas declared Aurangzib a violator of Islamic injunctions and deposed him. Then Prince Akbar declared himself emperor of India, January, 1681. Had the rebel prince marched he would have certainly created a very desperate crisis because the emperor had no army. But Akbar was no general or politician. He delayed and the delay cost him his share of the empire and the comforts of a princely life. Aurangzib made full preparations.

Rebellion of Prince
Akbar.

He advanced as far as Deorai. He seduced Akbar's followers. Then he sent a false letter to Akbar, congratulating him on the progress of his plot to lure the whole Rajput army into the emperor's easy reach and at the time of action to be crushed between Akbar's and his armies. This letter he conspired to be sent to Durgadas. The Rajputs were alarmed. They left the prince without his knowledge and next morning when Akbar awoke, he found himself alone on the field, surrounded by his 350 followers only. No course was left to him but to fly. Durgadas was now convinced of Akbar's fidelity and the duplicity of the emperor. So he welcomed Akbar, but finding Rajputana dangerous, he safely carried him to the court of Raja Shambhaji at Raigadh, regardless of the insurmountable difficulties of his task, as all roads and ferries on the way were blocked and closely watched by the enemy, June, 1681. Akbar's family went to the imperial camp. But a daughter and a son stayed with Durgadas, who gave them befitting education, kept them safe from insults and discomforts, and finally handed them over to the emperor through the intervention of a Nagar Brahman of Patan, then in imperial service, by name Ishvardas, author of a very readable account of the time. "Almost alone among the Rathors, Durgadas displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy, and

organizing power of a Mughal minister of state." Such is the well-deserved compliment paid to Durgadas by Prof. Sarkar.

The defection of Akbar and his flight to Rājā Shambhaji's court disconcerted the emperor's plans of war. He departed for the Deccan from which he never returned, September, 1681. The Rajputs reaped good advantage. They raided Gujarat and Malwa and went as far as Delhi.

So the back of the Mughal invasion was broken. In June, 1681, the Maharana Jai Singh met Prince Azam at Rajasamudra and signed a treaty, which deprived him of the Paragnas of Mandal, Pur and Bednor and absolved him from paying the *Jaziya*. The peace restored to him lands occupied by the Mughals. Jai Singh died soon after. His son, Bhim Singh, entered imperial service and fought against his kith and kin.

Marwar continued the desultory warfare for more than a generation—for full thirty years. Durgadas returned from the Deccan in 1687 and joined Ajit who now emerged from the hills and moved amongst his clan. The emperor had subjugated Bijapur, Goalkonda and Maharashtra. So he could bring to bear upon weak and desolate Marwar the full strength of his armies. But

Durgadas, Ajit Singh
and Aurangzib.

the situation soon changed. The Marathas grew strong and Aurangzib could not spare a single soldier for Rajputana. Durgadas sent away Akbar's grown-up daughter to Aurangzib. But even this act of generosity failed to induce the emperor to restore Ajit to his throne. On the other hand he intended to partition Marwar.

At last when Durgadas surrendered the son of Prince Akbar, Aurangzib restored part of Marwar. He also made Durgadas a Mansabdar of the empire. But it was a short-lived truce. Aurangzib ordered prince Azam to seize and if possible to kill Durgadas. The war lasted to the emperor's death and it continued even after it. At last Ajit Singh and his Rathods were able to expel the Mughals from their native land. Ajit Singh was crowned in August, 1709.

The strained relations between the emperor and the Rathods and Sisodias had very disastrous results. The Rajputs of Bundi, Jesselmere, and other states joined their countrymen. They closed the roads to the Deccan, raided the rich provinces of Gujarat and Malwa, and cut off the supplies for the Deccani armies. The Jats, Bundelas and others made common cause with them. Aurangzib's policy alienated the entire Hindu community and it destroyed the sense of common citizenship which had been created by Akbar and fostered by Jahangir and even Shah Jahan.

It will be remembered that Shah Jahan had enthroned Raja Devi Singh Champat Rai Bundela and had extinguished by force and conversion the family of his rivals in Bundelkhand. But Devi Singh was opposed by his kinsmen, who were led by the redoubtable Champat Rai and his wife Rani Kali Kunvar, a woman of great strength of mind and force of character. They carried on ceaseless depredations into the Mughal territory. So Aurangzib's generals hunted them from fort to fort so much that life became impossible and they saved themselves by death in October, 1661. But their son, Chhatra Sal, fled to Shivaji who advised him to return home and create diversions in his favour in the north.

Aurangzib established suzerainty over Tibet, Palamau (Behar) and Kumaon, and exchanged embassies with the Sheriff of Mecca, Shah Abbas of Persia, rulers of Balkh, Bokhara, Kashgar and Khiva, the Sultan of Turkey and the chiefs of Arabia and Abyssinia.

The enforcement of the *jaziya*, the refusal of the European settlements at Hugli, Surat and other places to pay customs; the many acts of veandalism and piracy which they committed on high seas and especially the harassment which they caused to pilgrims going to Mecca, created a

state of brief war between the English and the Mughals in Bengal and at Surat, 1686-90. In 1699 a rival company was formed by Englishmen and the English government sent out Sir William Norris as envoy to India to negotiate a commercial treaty. Norris waited on Aurangzib at Panhala in the Deccan in April, 1701, but nothing came out of his visit. The Faujdar of Surat imprisoned the governor and councillors of the Surat factory for full six years. So the English seized two distinguished men on their return home from Mecca as an act of reprisal, when peace was made.

Aurangzib exhibited a uniform trait of character all throughout his reign. First Aurangzib's Sunnism. Restoration of Islamic Practices at Court. he was the simple and straight Sunni, regular in the observance of practices, enjoined by doctors of Islam, and secondly, he was the princely champion of Sunnism; rigorously enforcing on all alike the injunctions of his faith. He considered it his moral duty to carry out this policy. So he removed all those practices and customs which had slowly crept in the political system by contact with Persians, Hindus, Christians and Jains. The stamping of the Kalima of Islam on the coins, the observation of the *nauroz* or the Persian new year-day, the official performance of music before the throne, the ceremonies of weighing the emperor, *darshana* and *tilak*, the Hindu practice of saluta-

tions, astrology; drawing up of almanacs, celebrations on birthdays and coronation days, the use of scents, *pans*, silks, *butādars*, pilgrimage of women to the graveyards of saints and a host of other rather very innocent practices were abolished.

The emperor did not stop at this. He appointed

a special censor—the Muhta-

Moral Reform.

sib, to regulate the citizen's conduct according to injunctions of Sunnism and placed under him a number of officers to assist him in discharging his duty all over the empire. Old mosques and *madresas* were repaired at state-expense, even when they were in lonely places, and Imams, *khatibs* and *muazzins* were attached to them with fixed salaries. Aurangzib's orders suppressing prostitution, gambling, effeminacy in dresses, *holi* celebrations, *muhartram* processions, *sati*, nakedness, and the manufacture and sale of *bhang*, spirits and intoxicants deserve commendation.

So far we saw the emperor restoring Islamic practices in the etiquette of the court and reforming the morals of his subjects. But there was another picture of Aurangzib's Sunnism. He was a destroyer. He had seen in his boyhood the destruction of Hindu temples in Bundelkhand and the forced conversion of defeated Rajputs and Christians to Islam. As governor of Gujarat, he had ordered the destruction and desecration of temples at Ahmedabad, Somanath.

Aurangzib's Fanaticism.

etc. When he became emperor, he issued orders, prohibiting the repair of old temples and the construction of new ones. He ordered the demolition of all Hindu schools and the suppression of all instruction there. He asked his officers to destroy stately temples at Mathura, Somanath, Jagannath, Benares, Ujjain, Amber, Jodhpur, Chitor, Bijapur, Kashi, etc. The temples of Keshav Rai at Mathura, of Vishvanatha at Benares, of Khandoba at Satara and of Mahadev at Somanath were the special victims of his fanaticism.

At several places, he ordered mosques to be built near or on the ruins of the destroyed temples. He caused Mathura, the birth-place of Shri Krishna, to be named Islamabad. He revived the *jaziya* in April, 1697, ordered a strict collection of the tax and refused to concede to any pressure for its abolition, even on the ground of poverty or incapacity to pay. Mussalmans were first required to pay 2½% and Hindus 5% in customs but afterwards total exemption was granted to the first. This strange concession resulted in smuggling and consequently much loss of revenue. Those who offered themselves for conversion to Islam were given special considerations e. g. they were given appointments in preference to others, were paid extra allowances, or were allowed to succeed to disputed inheritance. Prisoners were released if they consented to accept Islam. Posts of clerks, Amils, Kanungos, accoun-

tants etc. were filled up only from the Sunnis. Hindus were dismissed from the department of revenue. Riding on elephants, in Palkis, etc. was forbidden to Hindus, unless they were Rajputs. Hindu religious fairs were suppressed. Even the *divali* festivities were placed under control.

Needless to say, these ordinances estranged the Hindus. Of course they could not be effectively enforced. But their revival after one hundred years produced feelings of consternation in the minds of the Hindus.*

* The Prophet had ordered his followers to "What was the *jaziya*? collect the *jaziya* from those who did not accept Islam "with their hands in humility." Many doctors of law consider these words to mean that the tax should be paid by the *Zimmi* or non-believer personally and in a way humiliating to him. The tax was payable by all except women, children below fourteen, slaves, and destitutes. The state divided *Zimmis* into (1) money-lenders, merchants, landowners and physicians, who paid Rs. 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ a year (2) artisans, who paid Rs. 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ a year and (3) the poor, who paid Rs. 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ a year, each. It would be seen that the incidence of the tax was very heavy. But it was not only the heaviness of its incidence that was objectionable. The manner of its collection, the humiliation implied in going to pay it personally, the harassment of officers appointed to receive and enforce it and the sense of religious and social inferiority which went with it: they were the most obnoxious elements in its imposition.

The great Shivaji sent a letter of remonstrance against the revival of the *jaziya* to Aurangzib. But no heed was paid to it.

Aurangzib went a step further. He persecuted innocent Fakirs, Yogis, Sikh Gurus, Shias, etc. He executed Sayyad Kutbuddin, the Vora High Priest, and his 700 followers at Ahmedabad.

CHAPTER XII.

Aurangzib. Mughal Hegemony, 1658-1707.

(b) Southern India.

In the foregoing pages, we described Aurangzib's efforts to establish hegemony in northern India by annexing Assam, Chatgaon, and Mewar and Marwar. In this chapter we shall study the progress of the same policy in the south of India, the temporary extinction of the rising state of Maharashtra and the final subjugation of Bijapur and Goalkonda.

The history of Aurangzib's relations with the Deccan falls into three broad divisions (1) struggle against Shivaji and his son Shambhaji, 1660-1689; (2) relations with Bijapur and Goalkonda to the time of their disappearance in 1687, and (3) attempts to establish a well-organized administration in the conquered Deccan by putting down the Marathas. These attempts never attained even a modicum of success; they rather dragged down to end the old emperor and his whole policy.

Shivaji had passed the life of a neglected

son at his father's *jagir* in the Poona district under the motherly and inspiring care.

Aurangzib and Shivaji. of Jiji Bai and the firm, honest
Disgrace of Shaista Khan. and diligent protection of Dadaji Kondev. He hated the life of a dependent Jagirdar of the state of Bijapur from the very first and during the physical infirmity of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah and the administration of the queen Bari Saheba, he consolidated the *jagirs* of his father Shahaji by the conquest of forts to its south-east and north-west with the help of the sturdy Mavlis and secured additional grounds of 'vantage by the reduction of hill-forts in north Konkan, 1646-59. We saw Aurangzib warning Shivaji before he started for his fight against Dara, because he had raided the Mughal districts of Ahmednagar and Junner. But Shivaji strengthened his position by the murder and defeat of Aizal Khan and the annexation of lands in south Konkan and Kohlapur. Aurangzib was not slow to notice this new danger. He sent his maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, to chastise Shivaji early in 1660. The Khan seized several maratha forts, e.g. Supa, Sasvad, Chakan, Kalyan and Bhimri. He took up his residence in the very house which had once served as resting place for Shivaji with a small guard, protected, not far off, by an army of 10,000 under the command of Maharaja Jashvant Singh. One *Ramzan* night, Shivaji entered this very house after

a strenuous full day's march, from the fort of Sinhgadh, broke into the bed-room of the Khan, cut off his thumb, and forced him to fly for very life, while other Maratha soldiers were busy disarming and killing the Nawab's guards; April, 1663. Shaista Khan was transferred to Bengal and was succeeded by Prince Muazzam.

The night attack on Poona became now the story of the bazar all through-
 Loot of Surat. out India. But the Maratha hero added another story about his exploits by the daring loot of the richest Indian port, Surat. The Mughals had attacked him in his very home: he would therefore retaliate in their nearest and richest quarter. Shivaji entered Surat on the 6th of January, 1664, looted its richest merchants, e.g. Virji Vora, Haji Sayyad Beg, etc. burnt and destroyed almost three-fourths of the city, plundered it for full four days and nights and carried away one crore of rupees, besides incredible amounts of gold, silver, pearls and diamonds, some 28 seers of large pearls having been secured as prize from the chest of Virji Vora only. The Mughal governor made no effort to defend the city. Only the English and Dutch defied the Maratha threat.

The surprise on Shaista's camp at Poona and the bold loot of Surat and
 Jai Singh and Shivaji. Treaty of Purandhar. Ahmednagar confirmed Aurangzib's opinion that the best general

should be sent against Shivaji. So he appointed the old, astute, experienced and brave Maharaja Jai Singh with Dilir Khan and others as his assistants to the command of the south. The Raja offered peace and promotion to Shivaji's followers, secured the co-operation of Bijapur, seized important forts, garrisoned them well, stormed Purandhar, where Murar Baji Prabhu lost his life in the course of a sortie against Dilir Khan, and compelled Shivaji to sign a treaty at the same place, June, 1665. By this treaty, Shivaji gave up 23 forts but got 12 forts from the Mughals. Jai Singh allowed Shivaji to capture Bijapuri forts in the Konkan and pay 40 lacs of *lacs* in thirteen annual instalments. Shambhaji, his son, was made a Mansabdar of 5000.

Raja Jai Singh now prevailed upon Shivaji to offer personal respects to the

Visit of Shivaji to emperor at Agra and assured Aurangzib.

him of a safe stay and return under the most solemn pledges and the special guarantee of his son, Ram Singh. Shivaji consented, though with reluctance, and after much thinking. He took his son, Shambhaji, and 4000 troops with him, made splendid arrangements for the administration of the kingdom during his absence, and waited upon Aurangzib at Agra in May, 1666. He was soon disappointed. The emperor was displeased with his behaviour in open court and gave him

a cold and insulting reception. He was seated in a corner, reserved for third-class nobles; he was housed in a building, strongly guarded by troops and artillery. In despair Shivaji turned on all sides, even to the Vazir, Jafar Khan, only to know that he was duped and deprived of freedom. So he meditated upon a way of escape. He was uncommonly resourceful. He and his son feigned illness and one day, keeping a half-brother in bed in Shivaji's place and then seating themselves in baskets of sweets which they were sending in charity to Brahmins for distribution every day, made away from Agra. The counterfeit Shivaji, his half-brother, remained in bed for more than a day, served by an attendant shampooing the feet, and then he too left the house, instructing the sentries outside as he walked away to keep quiet as the Maratha king was very ill! The escape soon oozed out. An alarm was raised. Simple-minded folk ascribed the Raja's escape to magic. But Aurangzib was not the fool to believe in such stupid talk. He sent well-armed parties to guard all roads to the Deccan and to watch all passers-by. But Shivaji and his men were more than a match for the emperor. They smeared themselves with ash, refused to go home by the beaten track, took the eastern way, and paying visits to Mathura, Allahabad, Benares, Gaya and Puri, sacred places of the Hindus which the Raja never hoped to visit again,

giving to Brahmins fanciful *dakshinas* in gems, etc. stored up in the hollow bamboos they carried, and after many romantic escapes, returned home in safety by the end of 1666. The boy prince, Shambhaji, was kept at Mithura with some Deccani Brahmins who boldly accepted the sacred trust in the name of religion and country without fear. This was the third surprise which Shivaji had sprung upon his great enemy. It reads like romance. After this an offer of peace was made by him, which was gladly accepted, March, 1668.

But the agreement did not last long. The emperor imposed the *jaziya* upon the Hindus and confiscated Shambhaji's *jagirs* in Behar. So Shivaji broke the peace and captured the forts, ceded by him by the treaty of Purandhar. Kondana or Sinhgadh, where Tanaji Malsure gave up his life in a single combat with its Rajput commandant, being one of them, 1670. The viceroy, prince Muazzam, and the general, Dilir Khan, were on bad terms. Shivaji took full advantage of the disunion. He looted Surat for the second time for three days, destroyed half of it and carried away booty, worth almost a crore and a half. This second pillage completely destroyed the trade of the port.

Shivaji's generals now occupied Ramnagar or Dharampur, raided Berar as Shivaji and his men. far as Burhanpur and captured

the forts of Baglan. The Marathas were within a day's journey from Surat whose people stood in daily fear of Shivaji and his men. The death of Ali Adil Shah and the succession of his four-year boy, Sikandar, gave to Shivaji a splendid opportunity to improve his position. He recovered the Karnatic from his step-brother, Vyankaji, and created such a confusion in the imperial army from the Narbada to the Konkan that even Aurangzib was at a loss as to the way to suppress him. During the second siege of Bijapur by the Mughals, he laid aside his hostility, sent valuable help to the Sultan and drew away large armies of the enemy by creating diversions in his territory. One great disappointment, however, pained him. For a few months, his revolted son, Shambhaji, joined the enemy.

Shivaji died in April, 1680, leaving an illustrious name, a great tradition and an unexampled renown as general, administrator, diplomat and organiser.

The peace of 1657, which Aurangzib had reluctantly made with the Sultan of Bijapur. First Invasion. tan of Bijapur on the eve of his war with Dara, was not properly observed by the latter. The promised indemnity of one crore was not fully paid up; the forts of Konkan were not handed over; Ali Adil Shah II had not shown faithful service at the time of Raja Jai Singh's attack on Shivaji; the Mughal ambition to complete

the conquest of all India was not still dead. So after the treaty of Purandhar, the first campaign against Bijapur opened under Jai Singh. Shivaji co-operated with the emperor. Many distinguished officers of Bijapur deserted to the enemy and Jai Singh gave them employments in his army or sent them to the court. He also secured the neutrality of the Sultan of Goalkonda. The allies seized almost all forts between Purandhar and Bijapur and camped within twelve miles of the capital. But they were cut off from all sources of supply and all round, there was scarcity not only of corn and fodder, but also of water. So Jai Singh ordered a general retreat. But the Sultan of Goalkonda sent aid to Bijapur and the retreat became a rout, January, 1666.

Thus the first invasion of Bijapur was a complete failure. Raja Jai Singh was recalled but he died on the way.

Ali Adi Shah II, the Sultan, died in 1672 and was succeeded by his son,

Second. Invasion of Bijapur. Shivaji saves it. Sikandar, a lad of 4 years. So there was a general scramble for

power and various factions, Abyssinian, Afghan, and Deccani, started quarrelling amongst themselves, regardless of the danger round them from two enemies, Shivaji and the Mughals. Aurangzib availed himself of these internal dissensions, took Bahlol, the Afghan leader, under protection and appointed his energetic general, Bahadur Khan, in supreme

command of the Deccan, 1672. But this second invasion of Bijapur proved a failure. So the emperor entrusted the task to Dilir Khan. He established a virtual protection over Bijapur. The agreement did not last long. So Dilir Khan besieged Bijapur, which had no strength to resist. Even the surrender of the young sister of the Sultan, Padshahi Begum, wise beyond her age, to be married to Prince Azam, did not deter that general from executing his plan. But the siege was doomed to failure, because Prince Shah Alam refused to co-operate. And then Shivaji came fast to the rescue of the Sultan. With 30,000 horse, he raided the Deccan from the Bhima to the Narbada, exacted frightful blackmails and sent provisions to the besieged. The emperor was greatly exasperated at this sudden turn of events and sent a peremptory order to Dilir to raise the siege, February, 1680. Prince Shah Alam was recalled and Bahadur Shah or Khan-i-Jahan was appointed as Subedar of the Deccan. Next year, the emperor himself came up to the scene to crush Prince Akbar, who had been safely escorted by the gallant Rajput Durgadas to Raigadh, the capital of Raja Shambhaji.

For the present, therefore, Bijapur was saved. After an intrigue which set up Raja Ram as

Shambhaji. Prince Akbar and the Mughals. ruler, Shambhaji ascended the throne of Shivaji. He sent out light Maratha horse to plunder

Mughal territory and harass the imperial armies. In June, 1681, Prince Akbar came down to the Maratha land as the crowned but helpless emperor of India. So Aurangzib patched up peace with Me-war, placed strong garrisons in Rajputana under his grandson, Prince Azim, and with his three sons and best generals, encamped at Aurangabad, March, 1682. All the resources of the empire were now directed against Maharashtra and Bijapur. But the princes were slow to act. The emperor suspected his sons, Muazzam or Shah Alam and Azam. Still good luck favoured him. The voluptuary Shambhaji was frittering away his limited resources in warfare with the Siddi of Janjira and the Portuguese in spite of the repeated importunities of his princely guest, Akbar, to aid him in an invasion of Hindustan. So by the end of 1683, Shah Alam invaded South Konkan, Shihabuddin marched over North Konkan, the Siddi of Janjira guarded the seas, Khan-i-Jahan blocked Bijapur, Prince Azam protected Khandesh and Baglan, and the emperor stayed at Ahmednagar to direct the grand campaign. The Mughals succeeded in north Konkan. They captured two wives, one daughter and three slave-girls of the Maratha king at Bahadurgadh. But beyond this they could do nothing.

Aurangzib asked the sultan of Bijapur to send help for the conquest of Maharashtra; but the government of

Bijapur, seeing in Shambhaji their only hope and bulwark] kept loyal to the recent treaty with Shivaji and sent even assistance to the Marathas. The emperor had to keep a large army to watch the movements of the Bijapuris. So he sent an ultimatum to sultan Sikandar to dissolve his friendship with Shambhaji and allow Mughal armies to pass unmolested through his territories. But Sikandar showed a spirited front. He asked the emperor to withdraw from his state and required him to restore all the forts conquered from Shambhaji. So war was declared. The last siege of Bijapur began from the first day of April, 1685, under Prince Azam. In 1688 the emperor himself sat down before its walls. Famine and intrigue worked against Sikandar Adil Shah, who, after consultation with his council, decided to give up the defence, surrender the fort and resign himself to imperial favour and mercy. In the words of Prof. Sarkar, "Sunday, 12th September, 1685, saw the downfall of the Bijapur monarchy. Amidst the tears and lamentations of his subjects that lined the streets, Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahi Sultans, gave up his ancestors' throne." Aurangzib confined him at Daulatabad and then carried him as captive in the imperial camp till 1700 when he died. He was buried at Bijapur and as his mortal remains "entered the capital of his fathers, thousands of women wept, broke their bracelets and performed such other

cerémonies as if they had been widowed." Bijapur was annexed. In its best days it had a revenue of nearly 8 crores and 8000 cavalry, 2,50,000 infantry, and 530 war elephants.

The kingdom of Goalkonda escaped annexation in 1656 only on account of the intervention of the crown-prince, Dara. Its Sultan, Abdulla Kutb Shah, was a worthless debauchee and the administration was conducted by his mother and son-in-law. The Sultan died in April, 1672, and was succeeded by Abul Hasan who was led to the status of the Sultan from that of a Fakir. The new Sultan selected as minister a Brahmin named Madana on whom he conferred the title of Surya Prakasha Rao. Madana pursued a policy of warding off the inevitable Mughal rule by helping Bijapur and at times the Marathas. This was the first cause of the Mughal resentment against the Kutb Shahi. Its wealth was its next guilt. The Sultan had never sent his tributes and the war-indemnity regularly. He had not returned to imperial ownership the *jagirs* of Mir Jumla in the Karnatic. He was a Shia and had given supreme power to a Brahmin, and lastly he had sunk into debauchery and was surrounded by an army of 20,000 public women who danced every Friday before him.

Under these circumstances, war was only a question of convenience. So when Bijapur was

besieged, the emperor sent Shah Alam and Khan-i-Jahan against Haiderabad, the capital, which was occupied in October, 1685. It was one of the richest and the most luxurious cities of India at the time. The Sultan fled to Goalkonda where the Brahmin minister, Madana, and his party were murdered. Peace was then signed and the Sultan returned to Haiderabad.

But it was only a few month's truce. Bijapur fell in September, 1686; Aurangzib started for the invasion of the Kutb-Shahi state early in 1687. The Sultan again fled to the near fort of Goalkonda, which was besieged. The fort was very strong; the garrison was loyal, well-provided with grain, water and war-material; famine raged in the besieging party, and the Mughals were divided amongst themselves on matters of high policy. Shah Alam, the crown-prince, the Shias of the army and several Sunnis were opposed to the aggressive policy of the emperor. So it appeared that the siege would last long and it would tax the best talents of the emperor's servants. But good luck favoured Aurangzib. A renegade opened a gate, and the Mughals entered the fort, though not without one valiant fight on behalf of the Sultan, in September, 1687. Abul Hassan made a quiet and dignified surrender, even inviting his captors to breakfast. He was imprisoned at Daulatabad.

The Kutb-Shahi kingdom was annexed. Its

revenue was nearly 3 *crores* a year.

Of the three powers of the Deccan, two were now extinguished. The last remained. That was the kingdom of Maharashtra; but its subjugation cost the emperor all the resources of the empire and his very life.

Execution of Shambhaji.
Annexation of Mahrashtra. Raja Rm's flight to Jinji.

The armies which were hitherto employed against Bijapur and Goalkonda were now drawn towards Maharashtra and the Maratha king, Shambhaji, was made to feel their full weight. The first fruit of this policy was that prince Akbar set sail for Persia in a ship, commanded by an Englishman, October, 1686. Shambhaji lost his one chance in the person of the revolted and in-experienced prince Akbar, supported by the sword of Marwar and Mewar, he had an important key to success. But Shambhaji was wasting away his time in drinks and merry-making with Kalusha or Kavi Kulesha, his Kanouji minister, at Sangameshwar, an impenetrable place of rest. There, however, he was duped by fate. A general, Shaikh Nizam, now called Mukarrab Khan, darted from far off Kolhapur, crossed the jungle and hill, reached the Maratha king's chosen spot, and captured him and his minister. They were reported to the emperor. Some officers pleaded for a liberal treatment of the prisoners. But Aurangzib would not give in. Prof. Sarkar describes the last days of the Raja thus, "Four miles

outside the encampment, Shambhaji and Kavi Kulesha were dressed as buffoons with long fool's caps and bells placed on their heads, mounted on camels, and brought to Bahadurgadh—the camp—with drums beating and trumpets pealing. Hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the roads, to gaze at Shambhu as at a new kind of wild beast or demon. Thus degraded the captives were slowly paraded through the entire camp and finally brought to the emperor." They were imprisoned and tortured with a view to force out of them secrets of state. "Fretting with bitterness of soul at being publicly insulted and now driven to despair, Shambhaji spurned at the offer of life, loosened his tongue in abuse of the emperor and his Prophet, and scurrilously asked for one of Aurangzib's daughters to be given as the price of his friendship." That was a supreme guilt though it was only a cloak to the execution of a resolution, long made. The Raja was blinded and the Kavi's tongue was cut off. Then doctors of law pronounced them guilty of treason and heresy and sentenced them to death. Once again, the poor prisoners were subjected to torture. Then at Koregaon they were made to die painful and cruel deaths, their limbs being taken out one by one and thrown to dogs, March, 1689. The heads of the king and his minister were exhibited all over the Deccan to the accompaniment of state-music.

CrUEL, dissolute and indolent as he was,

Shambhaji excites the reader's admiration by the fortitude he showed at the time of death. After all, he did not betray Shivaji's blood.

The capture and execution of Shambhaji were followed by the reduction of Maratha forts, including that of Raigadh where the Mughals captured Shivaji's widows, the wives of Shambhaji and of his brother, Raja Ram, and their children, one of them being the future Shahu, then a boy of nine. They were all kept in confinement. Shahu was made a Mansabdar of 7000. But Raja Ram, younger son of Shivaji, now king of Maharashtra, made his escape in the guise of a *yogi* to fort Jinji, where he established a mock government, distributed offices and titles and for years continued defying the lord of all India. This brings us to the last phase of the struggle, 1689-1707.

On the opening of the year 1690, it appeared that Aurangzib was the lord of all India. Was it really so? In the words of Prof. Sarkar, "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzib now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of the end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. Napoleon I used to say—It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzib."

Raja Ram took over the government of Jinji in November, 1689, and called

Jinji. Conquest of eastern Karnatic. Second Flight of Raja Ram. upon all Polygars and officers of the defunct kingdoms of Bijapur and Goalkonda to join his banner to drive away the foreigner. Aurangzib was not slow to act. He sent Zulfikar Khan, son of his Vazir, Asad Khan, the conqueror of Raigadh and captor of Shahu, to destroy the Maratha rule at Jinji. The long siege of that fort began in September, 1690. Dhanna Jadhav and Shanta Ghorpade, two great Maratha generals, came speeding with 30,000 horse from the west, captured two Mughal officers and ravaged the Karnatic. Zulfikar Khan could not stand against such heavy odds. To make matters worse, his colleague, prince Kam Bakhsh, youngest son of the emperor, put himself in secret communications with the Marathas. The Mughals could get neither money nor corn. So the whole army had to be moved to Wandiwash.

These were not the only reasons for delay in the reduction of Jinji. Zulfikar and his father, Asad, the Vazir, knew it too well that after the death of the old emperor, a fight for the throne was certain to issue, and they thought of *their* safety first—the Mughal general was delaying operations in order that at the proper time Raja Ram and his Marathas might go to his help—he might even anticipate the great Nizam-ul-mulk and found

an independent state in the south. But he could not long befooled the emperor. So one day by previous notice the Marathas surrendered the fort and Zulfikar claimed the rewards of a great triumph by the capture of the family of the Raja, January, 1698. But Raja Ram fled away and reached Vishalgadh safe and sound. Once more the Marathas had foiled the enemy. The seven years' hard campaign had resulted in the flight of the bird of prey. The Marathas stood as strong as ever.

Raja Ram had appointed one Ramchandra Bevdekar to act as regent during

Maharashtra's fight for
independence.

his absence. This officer conducted the war in Maharashtra.

Aurangzib thought that by the execution of Shambhaji, the government at Raigadh would come to an end and Maharashtra would be his in no time. But he was mistaken. The Marathas now distributed themselves into a number of small flying columns, whom it was neither easy to chase nor to crush. A desultory warfare raged not only in Maharashtra but all over the Deccan, from Madras to Surat, from the Narbada to the Kaveri and Tungabhadra. Aurangzib was fighting against a whole people in arms.

Three Maratha generals won undying fame during this struggle—Shanta Ghorpade, Dhanna Jadhav and Nima Sindhia. They defeated Rustam Khan in 1690, Kasim Khan in December, 1695,

and Himmat Khan in 1696. The defeat and death of these generals in the west and the discomfiture of Zulfikar Khan in the east added greatly to the prestige and renown of the Marathas, especially of their two generals, Shānta Ghorpadé and Dhanna Jadhav, the very report of whose approach was sufficient to upset the nerve of the most experienced Mughal general. When Raja Ram returned home from Jinji, Aurangzib made fresh but fruitless attempts to capture him. His death at Sinhgadh in March, 1700, the accession of his minor son, Shivaji II and the regency of his widow Tarabai, who proved a great administrator, opened up a new page in the complex political situation.

The release of Zulfikar's troops from the siege of Jinji and the conquest of eastern Karnatic enabled Tarabai and Aurangzib to concentrate all his efforts on the reduction of Maharashtra. The death of Raja Ram, the elevation of Tarabai to supreme power in the state and the jealousies between her and Rajāsbaī, another widow of Raja Ram and mother of Shambhaji II, inspired him with fresh hopes. Apparently the emperor was successful, for forts fell to him in quick succession, e. g. Satara in 1700, Parli and Panhala in 1701, Khelna in 1702, Sinhgadh in 1703, Rajgadh and Torna in 1704, though after their commandants were heavily bribed. The reduction of Wagingera in 1705 was the last military

effort of Aurangzib in the Deccan.

It was now twenty-three years since the emperor crossed the Narbada and took up the direction of military operations against Raja Shambhaji and the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. Age and worry had told upon him. His strength was wearing out. The campaigns in the Konkan and the reduction of the fort of Wagingera specially affected his health. Shattered in health, with defeated, demoralized and starving armies, with sons intriguing against each other, in mortal dread of being arrested and imprisoned by any one of them, Aurangzib, bent with age, fixed up his tents at Ahmednagar in January, 1706, and kept up the show of imperial administration, which had practically ceased to exist. Slowly but surely, the world round him was changing fast. His revolted son, prince Akbar, was dead in Persia. His eldest son had died in prison long ago. Zeb-un-nissa, his daughter, died at Delhi in 1702. Another daughter, three grandchildren and a daughter-in-law died in 1706. Asad Khan, the vazir, was the only one of the old, tried and loyal nobility to keep company and console the old master. The crown prince, Shah Alam, was away at Kabul. The second son, Prince Azam, was intriguing for the throne. The youngest, Kam Bakhsh, was a weak man. The emperor in mortal dread of being impri-

Last years of Aurangzib.
His death.

soned by his sons, sent away the first to Malwa and the second to Bijapur. Then he began to sink, though to the last he kept up the strength of his faculties. The end came soon. It was his wish to die on a Friday and that wish was realized. Aurangzib, jailor of Shah Jahan, conqueror of Dara, Shuja and the Deccan, living saint of the Muslims, and the last of the greatest Mughals, breathed his last in the morning of Friday, 20th February, 1707, "his fingers moving on the beads and his lips gasping out the *kalima* almost to the last." His earthly remains were buried at Khuldbad, near Daulatabad, in a simple tomb near those of Shaikh Zain-ud-din, according to his last wish. The tragedy of a fifty years' rule was over. Little could his chief mourners, prince Azam and others dream that the rule of the Mughals was also over with the life of their father.

CHAPTER XIII.

A Review of Aurangzib's Reign and Policy.

Aurangzib was a great administrator and soldier. When he was viceroy of

Aurangzib as administrator and general,

Gujarat, he put an end to the turbulence of the local Girasias.

As Subedar of the Deccan, he brought about the reduction of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda, and annexed the fertile province of Baglana. In Sindh, he suppressed the revolts of the Baluch

tribes and Mekkains and opened a port on the mouth of the Indus. In the Deccan he caused a survey of land, settled the assessments with the help of Murshid Kuli Khan, and populated several wild tracts and gave liberal assistance for the improvement of agriculture.

When he ascended the throne, he sat before himself a high ideal of rulership:—

“A kingdom is not hereditary private property. The King is merely God’s elected custodian and trustee of his money for the good of the subjects.”

“Of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur, nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi, no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long suffering and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object.”

These are the concluding words of Khafi Khan, the author of the celebrated history—*Muntakhab-ul-lubab*—on the reign of Aurangzib. The accession of Aurangzib was signalized by the remission of *rahdari* or transit duties, *pandari* or house-cesses, paid for any bit of ground occupied in the market, *charai* or grazing tax, collections

at fairs, taxes on goats, etc. tithes on corn, taxes on spirits, gambling houses and brothels, various fines and perquisites from debtors. He issued a series of regulations for the guidance of revenue officers. But though his rule covered half a century, it could claim little in the direction of the social and administrative amelioration of the people.

Aurangzib was a bad ruler. His policy destroyed the most important and stablest

Aurangzib's policy. elements of the imperial polity. The crown no longer stood above party in his days. He destroyed the sense of common citizenship, which a century of good rule had fostered and stimulated in the Indian mind. Central and provincial administrations lost their efficiency and sympathy for the people. He was the best officer who could show the greatest zeal in the destruction of temples and persecution of the infidels. Aurangzib could plead no justification for such a policy. Muhmud Gazni and Alauddin Khilji destroyed temples because they wanted their hoarded wealth. Aurangzib destroyed temples without the idea of plunder; his destruction was the result of fanaticism. He would have been the best ruler of a people, professing the Sunni creed: he was unfit to rule over a land of diverse creeds, races and communities. But he was much worse. His treatment of Shah Jahan, Dara, Murad, Sulaiman Shukoh and Shambhaji was cruel, vindictive and impolitic.

The Hindus lost trust in him and never forgave him for his attitude to their religion and civilization. While he destroyed their best institutions, he gave them no better substitutes. His reign is illumined by not one good piece of art or architecture, not one warm friendship, not one bright and arresting act of generosity and nobility. He inherited sound polity, efficient administration, vast treasure; he left behind him desolation, ruin and inefficiency. He failed to foster in the services even the sense of personal loyalty. His boundless ambition was directed to an impolitic end. He refused to be satisfied with the annexation of Assam and Bijapur and Goalkonda. The Mughal protectorates over Mewar and Marwar were considered by him incomplete and Rajput loyalty and co-operation were of little moment to him. He reversed the policy of his family by rejecting the true claimant to Marwar, by manufacturing a false claim and that too of a bad impostor and by insisting on the acceptance of Islam as a condition precedent to recognition of even valid claims. He created a sense of uncertainty in the Rajput mind and alienated Rajput sympathy. His wanton desecration of places of Hindu pilgrimage had a far-reaching result. The Hindus of the north henceforth fraternized with their co-religionists in the south. Rajputs and Marathas made the control of places of pilgrimage by Hindus the principal plank in their foreign policy—we shall see this later on.

when we discuss Maratha relations with the falling empire. Akbar and his successors had released Indian polity from narrowness, fanaticism and provincial outlook. After Aurangzib, India relapsed into individual, provincial and communal jealousies. Lawlessness and personal rivalries reigned supreme all over the land; and art, religion, literature, reform and improvement of the lot of people found little support. Aurangzib's narrow *Puritannism* ruined a great cause and *Particularism* of the most revolting kind emerged triumphant.

One very important result of the Rajput

policy of Aurangzib should be specially noticed here. From the Effects of Aurangzib's Rajput Policy.

reign of Akbar to the time of Aurangzib the greatest influence was exercised on the relations between Rajputana and the imperial power of Delhi by the house of Amber, which eclipsed the house of Mewar, inspite of the latter's pre-eminent social status and its connection with the solar race. This influence continued unabated to the middle of the eighteenth century. That century witnessed the close of the Kachhava ascendency in Rajputana. Up to now the imperial power of Delhi had held the scales even between the rival parties of Rajputana. But the decay of that power and the rise and progress of the Maratha power in northern India brought another important factor in Rajput politics. The Rajput princes were

shut out from rendering distinguished service in the empire outside Rajputana. Politics in Rajputana therefore became localised with very bad results on the character and prestige of its ruling race. As Prof. Jadunath Sarkar observes in his first volume of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, "Rajputana became a zoological garden with the barriers of the cages thrown down and the keepers removed. The fiercest animal passions raged throughout the land, redeemed only now and then by individual instances of devotion and chivalry which had not yet totally disappeared from the human bosom...There was no crime which a Rajput would not commit for the sake of land. Father killed son and son killed father. Women of the noblest rank gave poison to their trusting kinsmen. Kings took the lives ministers. None, not even the highest born descendant of the god Rama, shrank from buying the aid of an alien plunderer to decide his domestic contests. Disorder, public plunder, economic ruin and moral degradation were the chronic condition of Rajasthan from the declining years of Muhammad Shah to the day when British suzerainty was accepted by the land and British peace came at last to heal the wounds of the long suffering race." Aurangzib's policy was harmful to the empire and also to the Rajput princes, who became "a played out race" and "fell steadily into the background" in

Indian politics.

The Deccan wars ruined Aurangzib, his dynasty and his empire. They trained up the Aurangzib's Deccan Policy. Marathas for long and protracted warfare, made them fearless and aggressive and opened to them the whole Deccan for expansion, blackmail and occupation. They encouraged them to invade even Gujarat and Malwa. The uninterrupted absence of the emperor from the north for almost a generation loosened the foundations of administration. His quarrels with the Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs, and Bundelas emboldened them to hang on the rear of imperial armies, caravans and treasures moving incessantly to the south. All northern provinces except Bengal stopped sending supplies. It was fortunate for India that no great enemy appeared on the north-west frontier. Had the Shah of Persia acted up to the threat of an invasion conveyed in his letters, Aurangzib would have been a helpless fugitive in the south and the political system of northern India would have received the stimulant of a fresh conquest. The Deccan wars were wasteful beyond repair. The economic resources of the south were completely undermined. Men and cattle died in large numbers. Property changed hands almost every day. The peasantry was ruined. Agriculture was neglected. Internal and foreign commerce was paralysed. The morale of the army was broken. Administration became corrupt, oppressive, and

lawless. The hoarded treasure of three emperors was exhausted. Travelling became pitifully insecure—the Mughal peace was destroyed. Wealth could neither be created nor be accumulated. Even the natural wealth of the land was destroyed. In the course of innumerable siege-operations, marches through dense forests, and beastly hunts for food and fodder, Aurangzib left behind him treeless, cropless and desolate provinces, covered with bones of men and animals. Prof. Sarkar quotes an eye-witness: "Kos after Kos the eye fell only on mounds of corpses. The incessant rain melted away the flesh and skin.....After some months when the rains ceased, the white ridges of bones looked from a distance like hills of snow." Such was the aftermath of war. And still Aurangzib refused to relax his grim determination to crush the Marathas.

"European historians like Elphinstone have charged Aurangzib with political

The Deccan policy criticized.

Bijapur and Goalkonda first,

instead of crushing the Maratha power with the help of these two states. But this criticism misses the cardinal fact of Deccan politics in the 17th century. From the day when the emperor Akbar launched forth into a policy of conquest, south of the Vindhya to the day, 94 years later, when Aurangzib rode in triumph into the fallen capital

of the last of the Kutb Shahis, the Sultans of Bijapur and Goalkonda could never for a moment forget that the sleepless aim of Mughal emperors was their final extinction and the annexation of all their territories. They had at all times Maratha auxiliaries. Shahji Bhonsle was only the most eminent among many such—and now they found in the genius of Shivaji and the reckless audacity of Shambhaji their only shield in the hour of supreme danger. A union of hearts between Bijapur or Goalkonda and the Mughal empire was a psychological impossibility.

These European historians further maintain that it would have been wiser for Aurangzib to have left Bijapur and Goalkonda in independence to serve as the police of the Deccan against the growing Maratha lawlessness which finally proved too strong for the Mughals. This view also attaches too much importance to mere appearances and names and is based on ignorance of the true political condition of the Deccan during the period in question. By the time Shivaji had succeeded in forming a national state as a nucleus round which the Maratha chiefs now in Muslim pay might cluster, the kingdoms of Bijapur and Goalkonda had arrived at the last stage of their decline. Their kings were mere puppets sunk in pleasure, their capitals ran blood during the frequent faction-fights for the office of *vazir*, the administration had

utterly broken down, law and order had disappeared, the provincial governors had become independent, the generals were selling themselves to the highest bidder. In the touching words of the last historian of Bijapur, "No man from *Sardar* down to *ryot* ate his bread for a single day in peace; none from the Sultan down to the pauper slept for a single night in happiness." And such governments were expected by Elphinstone to tame Shambhaji and chastize Shanta Ghorpade more effectually than Aurangzib himself could do!"

The quotation is given in full from the most authoritative literature on the subject, because it dispels one still very common delusion about this period of Indian history. Besides it is certain to create a clearer and more critical historical perspective in the mind of the reader. But the criticism does not answer the question—what about the Deccan policy of Aurangzib? Certainly, he could not have left the two worn-out states of Bijapur and Golkonda to themselves. Sooner or later, a policy of intervention with them was sure to be forced upon the Mughal government. Had they been left to themselves, they would have dissolved into a number of semi-independent and warring principalities and the Marathas would have made a short and easy prey of them. Nor should Aurangzib be blamed for lack of political vision when he underrated Maratha strength. The growth of the Maratha

state was not an adventitious incident. It was the result of certain political and religious conditions. Aurangzib took Shivaji's power to be the child of an audacious and defiant temperament; he was blind to the great moral force behind it. But it would be unhistoric to expect Aurangzib to have dived deep into the moral causes of the rise of the Marathas; it would be unjust to expect from him such historical sense. The fault of Aurangzib lay elsewhere. It lay in his way of handling the Deccan situation. He protracted the Deccan strife too long. He created a sense of distrust and disgust and a sense of vengeance when he tried to keep Shivaji in life-long captivity at Agra, when he inflicted upon Shambhaji a torturous and cruel death, when he refused to treat with Tara Bai, when he jailed up Sikandar Adil Shah and Abul Hasan and when he roused the indignation of the southern Hindus by pursuing the same policy in the Deccan as in the north. Had he cried a halt after Jai Singh had treated with Shivaji at Purandhar or after the extinction of Bijapur and Golkonda, had he left Shambhaji to his soft home at Sangameshwar and to his dissolute company with Kavi Kulesha, had he left a large portion of the conquered territories of Bijapur and Goalkonda to their ablest officers and placed their deposed Sultans in the possession of far-off corners as counter-poise to the power of Maharashtra, and finally, had he

retired to the north to look after the administration personally, *then* the situation would not have passed beyond hope and the empire would not have been shaken to its foundations during his life-time. An Akbar would have availed himself of local patriotism, influence, wealth and talents and pressed them to the service of his dynasty and empire; for Aurangzib, that was impossible; and there lay the reason of his failure. By education and temperament, he was unfit to handle big imperial questions. He could fast and pray, persecute and destroy; but he could not build and consolidate. As he wrote in despair in his last letter to prince Azam:—"The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing."

But Aurangzib riveted Mughal rule in the Deccan. After him came viceroys, who prevented the Marathas from advancing further east. The permanent establishment of the imperial viceroy, Nizam-ul-mulk, all over the Karnatic blocked Maratha progress in that quarter and on the decay of the Subedari, facilitated the encroachments of the two European powers on the east. That was, however, an indirect consequence of the emperor's policy.

Question of succession and peace with Rajputs and Marathas., 1707-19.

Aurangzib left four great questions for settlement. The first was that of succession to the throne. We shall see that the fiercest fights centred round the proper settlement of it and it took twelve years to give stability to the throne. The second question was that of administration. During the absence of the late emperor in the Deccan for twenty-five years, the collection of revenues had gone out of order and the re-organization of central and provincial administrations was the first necessity. We shall see that no attempt was made to improve this. No inspiration went forth from emperors and Vazirs. Administration languished. The consequence was the spread of anarchy all round. These were questions of domestic policy. The other two pertained to imperial politics. What was to be the position of the Rajput princes and of the Hindus in the empire? Were they to enjoy positions of influence? Was the *jaziya* to be continued or abolished? Was the empire to revert to the policy of Akbar and Jahangir? Or was it to tread in the mistaken policy of Aurangzib? Lastly, there was the great problem of the Deccan. Should peace be concluded with Raja Shahu and his government? What arrange-

ments should be made for the government of lands, recently annexed from Bijapur and Goalkonda? These were serious problems and in the correct solution of each lay the test of true statesmanship.

Aurangzib left three sons (1) Muhammad

Muazzam, now called Shah Alam,

Prince Shah Alam's
Succession.

born of Nawab Bai, daughter of

the Raja of Rajauri in Kashmir

and sixty-four years old (2) Muhammad Azam,

born of Dilras Banu Begum and fifty four years

in age (3) Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, born of Udai-

puri and thirty years old. The late emperor had

left a will directing a partition of the empire

between his sons; but none acted up to it and as

usual his death became an occasion for war and

violence. Each son assumed sovereign titles. Prince

Azam Shah, who had been sent away to Malwa

by Aurangzib, had kept halting in the course of

his march. He returned at once to Daulatabad

and was supported by the Vazir, Asad Khan and

his son, Zulfikar Khan, leaders of the Persian party.

Azam's son, Prince Bidar Bakht, joined his father

from Gujarat, where Aurangzib had posted him as

governor. But the prince's cause was doomed to

failure. Shah Alam's second son, Muhammad Azim,

took possession of the eastern provinces and Agra

and raised a large army for his father. Munim

Khan, governor of Lahore, secured the roads bet-

ween the Indus and Delhi for Shah Alam. The

Turani party, led by Ghazi-ud-din, the blind father of the future Nizam-ul-mulk, refused help to Azam Shah. Muizuddin, Shah Alam's eldest son, joined his father from Multan and Sindh. The road to the metropolis was now open for the crown prince, who entered it without opposition and seized all its treasures. He tried to make peace with Azam Shah. But the latter sent a haughty answer. So fight became inevitable. Azam Shah was no general and he had neglected to bring artillery with him. So when he met his foe at Jajau near Dholpur, the action turned in Shah Alam's favour, June, 1707. Azam Shah and his sons were killed, while Zulfikar fled away to his father at Gwalior.

The youngest son of Aurangzib, Kam Bakhsh, was strong in the south. The violence, indiscretion and insanity of that prince brought about his own ruin. He refused the offer of friendship from the north. While in one breath he was attempting to seize all important forts in the Deccan, in another breath he was insulting, mutilating and murdering his ablest officers and supporters. Such a rival was despicable and when Kam Bakhsh faced Bahadur Shah's large army near Haiderabad, he was easily defeated. All his followers submitted and he and a son of his died of wounds. After this Shah Alam became emperor and assumed the name of Bahadur Shah.

The new emperor had seen active service in the Deccan, in Konkan, at Bijapur and Goalkonda and on the eve of his accession was Subedar

Character and Reign
of Bahadur Shah.

of Kabul. At Goalkonda, he was suspected of having intrigued with its ruler, Abul Hasan and so was kept as prisoner for seven years along with his family by his father Bahadur Shah reversed the sad precedents of his father and grandfather and gave very liberal and almost paternal treatment to the surviving members of his rivals' families. His trust in his sons, grandsons and other royal persons was immense; he never kept them at a safe distance; and was very opposed to the shedding of royal and Mussalman blood. Khafi Khan says: "For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature., extenuation of faults and forgiveness of offences very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times and especially in the race of Timur. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the state and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words *Shah-i-be-khabar*, heedless king." The emperor never refused any favour and often the same titles were held by several persons. His court was crowded by seventeen princes of the house of Shah

Timur. He gave away gifts without economy and consideration. He was very religious, inclining to the Shia faith. He studied the systems of several creeds. He kept up the institutions of his father and maintained the imperial prestige. He went so far as to discard the traditional Sunni way of reading the *khutba* and instituted the practice of describing Ali as "*Wari*" or heir. But on opposition from doctors of religion and break-out of riots between Sunnis and Shias, he gave up the innovation. In Bahadur Shah's time, Munim Khan and Prince Azim wielded the chief power. Munim Khan was a Sufi. He removed the Mansabdars' grievance about feeding of cattle by paying them in cash. He built Sarais, mosques and colleges, and ordered provincial officers to do the same. A large number of people were turned out of their lands and income was insufficient to meet the expenses of government. Bahadur Shah died in February, 1712.

A Dutch envoy from Surat, Johan Josua Ketelaar, waited upon the emperor at Lahore through the good offices of Donna Juliana, a Portuguese lady, who occupied position of great trust in the imperial harem and other Christian missionaries and servants. Concessions were given to the Dutch by Bahadur Shah and his successor, Jahandar Shah. But they were of little value, because Farrukhsiyar cancelled them.

Bahadur Shah left four sons (1) Muiz-ud-din

Sons of Bahadur Shah. Jahandar Shah (2) Muhammad Azim, Azim-ush-shan (3) Rafi-ush-shan (4) Khujista Akhtar or Jahan Shah. They were at daggers drawn with one another from the very first and a war of succession was certain after the old emperor's death. Prince Azim, who was once governor of Bengal and who exercised chief power, was expected to defeat his rivals and become emperor. But Zulfikar Khan joined Jahandar Shah and incited the other two princes to combine against Azim Shah who was deserted by his supporters and whose small army was defeated. The prince himself was carried away from the field by his wounded elephant to the other side of the Ravi, where both were swallowed up by quicksand. But the strange allies quarrelled among themselves and Zulfikar Khan's treachery only accentuated the jealousies of the brothers. Jahandar Shah was attacked and defeated. He was about to fly when news was brought to him of the death of Jahan Shah, in a small skirmish. In another fight, the third prince Rafi-ush-shan fell dead. So Jahandar Shah emerged victorious from the quarrel, March, 1712.

Jahandar, emperor of India at the age of fifty-two, handed over the administration to Asad Khan and his son, Zulfikar Khan, and ordered the leaders of the opposition to be done to cruel death. He

wasted his time and money in witnessing and ordering grand illuminations in Delhi, and in keeping company with dancing-girls, drummers and drunkards. He heaped all favours upon the family of his mistress, Lal Kunver, who lived like an empress, violated all rules of decorum and brought disgrace on the imperial name and position. Khafi Khan says, "Violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be a likelihood that *Kazis* would turn toss-pots, and *Muftis* become tipplers." The army was kept in arrears and Zamindars withheld payments of tribute. Such a reign could have no future at all. Already, an enemy was in sight.

Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, second son of Prince Azim-ush-shan, was gover-

Triumph of Prince Farrukhsiyar and the defeat and death of Jahandar Shah.

nor of Bengal, when he received a call from his father for an immediate march to help in the contest for the throne. But at Patna, he was informed of his father's death. First he contemplated a flight, but on being urged by his mother to fight for his father's inheritance, he proclaimed himself as emperor. He had no money, following, experience, or support. But his mother came to his rescue. She procured for her young son the co-operation of Sayyad Husain Ali Khan, governor

Patna, and his brother, Abdulla Khan, governor of Allahabad. Farrukh also obtained help from many old dependents of his father, the chief of whom were Mehta Chhabilram and his nephew, Girdharlal, who were Nagars. Jahandar Shah sent his son, Azzuddin to fight Farrukh. The two armies came within each other's sight at Khajwa. Prince Azzuddin advised an immediate action, when Khan Dauran, second in command, sent forged letters under Lal Kunvar's seal informing the prince that the emperor was dead. The trick had the desired result. Azzuddin and his army fled away, leaving a rich camp, which the enemy looted to their heart's content. At Sikandra, where Akbar lay buried, the victorious army of Farrukhsiyar inflicted a crushing defeat on Jahandar Shah, who fought without order, resolution, or tact and who fled away to Delhi, January, 1713. Farrukh became emperor. Asad and Zulfikar were first promised pardon and even restoration to office. But the emperor disgraced them and ordered the latter to be killed. Old Asad was saved, though his property was confiscated. Jahandar was strangled to death and his reign was rescinded from official records.

Thirty at the time of his coronation, Farrukh had spent the greater part of his life in Bengal, far away from the centre of intrigue, power and renown and had no experience. From early life, he had developed

Farrukhsiyar.

fondness for gymnastic exercises, out-door games and hunting; and his love for fine clothes and splendid horses almost amounted to a passion. But he was destitute of will, discretion, judgment or courage. He was timid, and prone to rely on others. He mounted the throne by the aid of the Sayyad brothers. But he committed the greatest folly in intriguing against them without power to persevere. This brought about his own destruction.

The Sayyads came to India first from Mesopotamia and settled near modern Patiala. Then they emigrated to the Doab and made Meerat and the adjacent land their home. They were brave in war, rough and proud in behaviour and extravagant in mode of life. In the days of the Mughals, they acquired the right to be always in the front of the army and the stubborn fighting of the Barra-so called from the twelve villages or towns where they first stayed—Sayyads had gone almost into a proverb. The father of the Sayyad brothers was one Abdulla Khan, who rose from a small position under the Mir Bakhshi to that of Subedar of Bijapur and Ajmere in Aurangzib's time. He had two sons, Hasan Ali, afterwards Abdulla Khan, Kutb-ul-mulk, and Husain Ali, who had held important posts in the late reigns but who had for sometime gone into retirement and insignificance. When Farrukh was crowned, Abdulla was made

Kutb-ul-mulk and vazir and Husain Ali became chief Amir and first Bakhshi.

We saw above that the administration required a powerful leading; but unfortu-

Four Parties.

nately for the house of Babar, none was forthcoming at the juncture. Farrukh was surrounded by four powerful combinations. The first was the Turani faction, led by the great Nizam-ul-mulk, Sunni in creed, bent on following the policy of Aurangzib, and possessed of very high military and administrative skill. The second party was composed of Persians, Shia in religion, skilled in law, medicine and poetry, and great in administrative and military talents. Their policy was the same as that of the Turanis. The Afghans were the third party. But it was insignificant. The last was the Hindustani party, composed of Hindustani Mussalmans and Hindus, Rajputs, Khattris, and Agarvals being the important sections in the latter.

A strong ruler would have kept these factions under check, and by playing off one against the other, would have advanced the interests of his dynasty and empire, and added glory to his name. But in the hands of the weak successors of Bahadur Shah, the factions became all powerful and history was only a summary of their rise and fall.

The Sayyad brothers had raised Farrukh to

power. But soon serious estrangement sprang up between the two. Abdulla Khan

The emperor and the Sanyads. Fall of Farrukhsiyar. wanted the office of the Vazir, which Farrukhsiyar was reluctant to give to him. The brothers

and their supporters could not claim the experience, tact and wisdom of the Turani chief, Ghazi-ud-din, the blind father of the great Nizam-ul-mulk, who thought that Farrukh had committed the fault of trusting the Sanyads, contrary to the practice of his ancestors. He used to say to the emperor, "The day of retribution seems at hand; you are full in its way; and I much fear that from the appearance of the general disaffection throughout your kingdom, ruin sits beneath the columns of the throne of Timur." The executions which the emperor ordered against the partisans of the late reign and the order to blind his brother and cousins were very much resented. The Sanyads quarrelled about the distribution of patronage and the possession of spoils. Naturally they did not like offices to be given away to men in whom they had no trust. The emperor entertained apprehensions that the brothers desired to depose the house of Timur. Often Abdulla refused to attend the Darbar and often the emperor went personally to his house, remonstrated and established amicable relations. Frequent attempts were made to separate the brothers, by sending one of them to

the government of a province, and then instigating the local officers to oppose, fight and ruin him. Abdulla was a soldier and not a statesman; he administered his departments through his clever Bania *diwan*, Ratanchand by name, who was charged by his enemies of speculation and who sold lands to the highest bidders much against the will of the emperor. Nizam-ul-mulk and others opposed this Afghan or Indian party in the policy of peace and friendship with the Rajputs and Marathas. They specially disliked the abolition of the *jaziya*. In 1712 Husain Ali Khan was nominated Subedar of the Deccan. But there he was opposed by Daud Khan Panni, who was defeated and killed in the fight and in whose captured records, Husain found letters addressed from Delhi, asking him to oppose and kill him. In the north the emperor planned various devices to get rid of Abdulla Khan, who was in daily fear of his life and who attended the *darbar* and accompanied the emperor with retinue, fully armed. Seeing danger all round, he sent urgent posts, asking his brother, Husain Ali Khan, to proceed to Delhi at once. The younger brother therefore made a treaty with Raja Shahu and with a large army under Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath and a false son of prince Akbar, son of Aurangzib, he left the Deccan for the north without orders, disregarded the imperial *firman* to go back, and entered Delhi in February, 1719. The

silly emperor tried all kinds of tricks to conciliate him. But it was past hope. His very supporters including his father-in-law, Ajit Singh, saw through his weakness and incompetence, and they either went over to the enemy or remained lukewarm. The Sayyads took possession of the fort and the palace, imprisoned and deposed Farrukhsiyar, and had him killed in a brutal manner, April, 1719.

The Sayyads now brought out prince Rafi-ud-darjat, son of Rafi-ush-shan, son of Bahadur Shah and, in the simple garment he was wearing, with only a pearl neckiace thrown upon his neck as ornament, crowned him emperor. But he was a consumptive and was kept prisoner in his own palace. He reigned for three months only and the most important event of his reign was the unsuccessful uprising of prince Nekusiar, son of prince Akbar, as emperor by a Nagar Brahman, Mitrasen by name. Rafi-ud-darjat was superseded by his brother, Rafi-ud-daula.

Prince Rafi-ud-daula was installed on the throne as Shah Jahan II. in June, 1719. But being an opium eater and an invalid, he caught dysentery and mental disorder and died in September, 1719. He was succeeded by Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, son of Bahadur Shah.

As the author of the *Siyar* says: "These two sickly young princes seemed to have just made

their appearances upon the theatre of the world with the bare title of emperors, in order to be immediately withdrawn; and were like two travellers who had made a short pause on the throne in order to continue their journey towards the regions of eternity. The three preceding reigns had been so short as to serve only to confound history." It was commanded that the short-lived reigns should be omitted entirely from official records.

In the foregoing pages, we discussed the question of succession to the Foreign Policy. throne; now we take up the foreign policy of the empire. The Rajput question will claim our first attention.

When Aurangzib died, there were three important states in Rajputana (1) Peace with Rajputs. Udaipur, ruled by Rana Amar Singh II. It exercised little influence, though it was the premier Hindu state; (2) Amber, ruled by Mirza Raja Jai Singh, who fought on the side of Prince Azam against Bahadur Shah and whose succession to the throne was disputed by his younger brother, Vijay Singh, an ally of the emperor, (3) Marwar or Jodhpur under Ajit Singh, who, with his great Sirdar Durgadas, was at war with Aurangzib and who drove away all imperial officers from his territories immediately when he heard of the death of his enemy.

Three questions demanded settlement from

Bahadur Shah in his relations with the Rajputs. The first was that of Rajput recognition of suzerainty. The Rajput princes had never questioned this. The second was that of freedom of worship in Rajputana. The Mughals had tried to restrict this during the time of Aurangzib and the Rajput princes were determined to resist it at all cost. The third question was that of the *jaziya*. As long as the emperor enforced this monstrous and humiliating impost upon Hindus, his relations with the Rajput princes were certain to remain strained.

Bahadur Shah annexed Amber, changed its name to Islamabad, and conferred it on Vijay Singh. He restored Marwar to Ajit Singh on the latter making his submission. But the emperor detained Jai Singh and Ajit Singh in his camp and sent officers to their lands to enforce obedience to the Islamic injunctions about erection of temples and the payment of the hated *jaziya*. The Rajas were frightened. They fled away from the imperial army when it was marching for the reduction of Kam Bakhsh in the Deccan. Maharaja Amar Singh gave his daughter in marriage to Jai Singh and the three leading states declared war. But prince Azim intervened and a temporary peace was made with the revolted chiefs, October, 1708. At this very time a new enemy, more serious than the Rajas, appeared in the Punjab in the person of Banda,

Bahadur Shah and
the Rajputs.

the Sikh Guru and Bahadur Shah could not execute his policy in Rajputana.

Bahadur Shah had insisted on re-construction of mosques, destruction of new temples, withdrawal of order against cow slaughter, restoration of the *khutba* and acceptance of imperial officers for collection of the *jaziya* by Rajputs in their states. But the Rajput princes fought against this. They saw no hope in the new reign even. So they met at the holy Pushkar lake and signed an agreement to resist the Mughals and to call Marathas to their aid in the struggle for religious and political freedom. Ajit expelled the Mughal officers and seized Ajmere. Husain Ali Khan, one of the Sayyad brothers, was sent against him. Ajit surrendered and gave his daughter, Indra Kumari, in marriage to the emperor, May, 1714. Soon after this Jai Singh entered imperial service. The Rajput trouble was over and peace was made with Marwar and Amber.

The Persian and Turani parties at Delhi advocated the continuation of Abolition of the *jaziya*. Aurangzib's system, while the Afghans and especially Hindustani Mussalmans desired a return to the ancient policy of co-operation with Rajputs and freedom of worship. The Sayyad brothers were of this party. So in January, 1713, the *jaziya* was abolished. It was re-instated in 1716.

but abolished on the accession of Rāfiuddarjat. Nizam-ul-mulk tried to re-impose it in 1723 but without success. It was never revived after that. One reason of this was the difficulty of collection and the smallness of revenue to be derived from it, for, in the reign of Muhammad Shah, the empire shrank into very narrow limits.

In the chapter dealing with northern India during Aurangzib's reign, we saw

Sikh Guru Banda. His capture and execution.

how the execution of Guru Tej Bahadur led to the rise of the

Sikhs as a military community and how the Punjab remained disturbed almost to the end of it. Guru Govind joined Bahadur Shah against Kam Bakhsh in the Deccan, where he died of the effects of a wound, inflicted by a Mahomedan. He was succeeded by Guru Banda, who declared war against government, pillaged the town of Sarhind for four days and ravaged the districts between Delhi and Lahore, committing indescribable atrocities on the luckless populations of the emperor. He even set up an independent administration in the Sarkar of Sarhind and coined money and trained troops. No government would brook such defiance of constituted authority even in the name of religion. *Sacha Padshah* and *Fath Darsan* as the rebels said. So Bahadur Shah made prompt peace with the Rajputs and advanced against the Sikhs. Banda fled to Lohgadh where he lived in regal state, even coining

money. The emperor stormed Lohgadh. Guru Banda escaped to the hills. Bahadur Shah ordered his pursuit. But his generals did not agree. So the Sikhs grew bolder and Banda raised a large and powerful army.

The disorder after the death of Bahadur Shah prevented the Mughals from undertaking serious operations against Banda. But after the accession of Farrukh, the war was pushed with vigour. The Sikh forts were seized. Banda's followers raided north Punjab and took shelter in Gurdaspur, which was infested. The Sikhs were starved and compelled to surrender, December, 1715. Banda and his 700 followers were brought to Delhi in triumphant procession. There, every day, a hundred captives were executed at the *Kotwali*. Many rich Khattris, who professed the Sikh faith, offered heavy ransoms for their co-religionists but they were refused. Every one of the devoted band met his fate with great fortitude, hailing the executioner as his deliverer. Even children were not made exceptions. Banda's own child was cut off in his very presence, and his liver was thrust into his mouth. Then followed Banda. In the words of Irvine, writer of the *Later Mughals*, "First of all his right eye was removed by the point of a butcher's knife, next his left foot was cut off, then his two hands were severed from his body and finally he was decapitated. His wife was made a Mahomedan."

and given over to Dakhini Begum, the emperor's maternal aunt.*

The reduction of Banda was followed up by that of the Jats.

Shahu, the eldest son of Shambhaji, stayed in the Deccan from the time of his capture to the death of Aurangzib as a political prisoner. Once the emperor promised him restoration of his kingdom if he turned Mussalman. But the young Raja refused it. He was given very excellent treatment, which the Raja never forgot even once. After the death of Aurangzib Raja Shahu accompanied the army of prince Azam as far as the Narbada, when on the advice of Zulfikar Khan and Raja Jai Singh, he was allowed to return home and assert his authority as feudatory. Shahu defeated Tara-

* Muhammad Amin Khan, struck with the appearance of Banda could not help addressing him:—"It is surprising that one who shows so much acuteness in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in conduct, should have been guilty of such horrid crimes." With the greatest composure Banda replied, "I will tell you, my lord, that whenever men become so corrupt and wicked as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of wickedness, then providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastize a race so depraved; but when the measure of punishment has been filled, then he raises up such a man as you to bring him to punishment." Banda's answer summarised almost literally the famous verse of the *Bhagavadgita*, यदा यदा हि etc.

bai's army, took distinguished officers under pay and created an efficient administration and army with the help of an old and experienced servant of the state, Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath. He disappointed the fond hopes of his adversaries that his release would lead to incurable dissensions in Maharashtra. At the time of his accession Shahu's rule extended over fifty-six miles only. When he died, he was the lord of a big empire, covering the greater part of the Indian continent. Tarabai, who first refused to transfer her son's claims to Shahu, retired to Kolhapur.

It was noticed above that Zulfikar Khan was secretly planning for a policy of peace with the Marathas, because he saw the fruitlessness of war against them; he himself thought of establishing an independent principality in the Deccan after the death of his old master. In the first he anticipated Husain Ali Khan Sayyad, while in the second he anticipated his great rival, Nizam-ul-mulk. Bahadur Shah appointed Zulfikar as Subedar of the Deccan; but he administered the Subas through his deputy or *diwan*, Daud Khan Panni. Raja Shahu and Tarabai had their own supporters at the court and they represented their claims for *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the six Subas through their respective patrons, Zulfikar, the Subedar, and Munim Khan, the *Vazir*. But no definite orders were issued at the time.

Daud Khan allowed *chauth* to Marathas for all lands except those which belonged to him and other Jagirdars. It was however a milk-and-sugar arrangement, as said by Khafi Khan. Zulfikar Khan was executed by Farrukhsiyar and Nizam-ul-mulk was appointed Subedar, 1713. During the last five years, the Marathas had levied *chauth* on all merchandise, revenues, etc. and had appointed officers, known as Kamavisdars, over the six Subas. The new Subedar drove them away. He ruled by the policy of divide and rule, inciting Tarabai and Shahu against each other, and engaging Maratha noblemen in service. He even obtained for Shahu a *Mansabdari* of 10,000 from the emperor. The Nizam found in the new prime minister of Shahu Raja, Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath, a past master of diplomacy and statecraft. The old Brahmin minister, who was fifty-three at the time, created a counterpoise against the Nizam at Delhi by forming friendships with his rivals; one with Maharaja Jai Singh of Amber and henceforth Jaipur, the other with the Sayyad brother, Hussain Ali Khan. The latter succeeded the Nizam as Subedar in the Deccan, in 1715. But he was opposed by Daud Khan Panni, agent of the Nizam, at Burhanpur, where Daud was killed. Hussain Ali Khan at once realized how dangerous his position was in the Deccan. The emperor was plotting against his brother, Abdulla Khan, at Delhi and was inciting his officers against him in the Deccan also. He

therefore made peace with Raja Shahu by promising to get imperial sanction for *sanads* of *chauth*, *Sardeshmukhi* and *svarajya*. Then he took with him a large Maratha army, marched to the north, entered Delhi, deposed Farrukhsiyar, placed Rafi-ud-darjat on the throne, and obtained the emperor's seal and signature for three *sanads* in March, 1719. Peshwa Balaji and his son Baji Rao were present with this army.

The *sanad* for *svarajya* confirmed Shahu in the territories conquered by Shivaji; that for the *chauth* gave to him a fourth part of revenues collected from Jagirdars and on government land in the six Subas of Burhanpur, Berar, Hyderabad, Bedar, Bijapur and the Karnatic. The last *sanad* conceded to him one-tenth of receipts, collected from the *ryots* of the Subas. In all the Raja was to receive 35% on total collections and on *abwabs* etc. as shown in gross accounts. The imposts were to be collected by different men. The claims on merchandise, etc. were discontinued. We have Khafi Khan's testimony that after Maratha officers were posted villages, which had once been desolate, were restored to cultivation. The relations of Raja Shahu were now released.

This arrangement assured peace to the Decan, legalized Shahu's position in Maharashtra and outside and gave a new footing to his people in

the Mughal territories. The three *sanads* opened a new page in Indian history.

Thus in 1719, when Muhammad Shah became emperor, the empire was in peace. Political conditions in 1719. the succession to the throne was settled; a young and healthy Timurid was seated on the throne with universal approval. the Rajputs were friendly to the suzerain power and the Marathas had acquired what they had been demanding since long. There was no danger from the north-west. The empire stood as it was left by Aurangzib—there was no apparent shrinkage. The *jaziya* was abolished and religious persecution was a story of the past. But there were elements of weakness. The Rajputs were no longer the friends of the empire. The army was exhausted. The nobility was rent asunder by party-strife. The Hindus in Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan and the Sikhs in the Punjab were seeking opportunities for independence and severance from the empire. The small Maratha state was exhibiting vigour and capacity for action, deserving imitation at Delhi. Everything turned round two points—the character of the new emperor and the political condition on the north-west. We shall see in the following pages, how both worked against the best interests of Akbar's dynasty.

It was during the reign of Farrukhsiyar that the President of the English factory at Fort

William sent an embassy to the court and requested the grant of some concessions, Farrukhsiyar's *firman* for which a *firman* was granted to the East India Company. in July, 1717. The *firman* was regarded by the Company as its Magna Charta. It should be remembered that the traditional account of the public spirit and generosity of Dr. Hamiltan is not borne out by facts, because the physician had already received a valuable remuneration for his service in December, 1715, while the *firman* was conceded to the Company as late as July, 1717.

CHAPTER XV.

The reign of Muhammad Shah. The disruption of the Empire, 1719-48.

Prince Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, fourth son of Bahadur Shah, Muhammad Shah. was enthroned as Abul Fath Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah in September, 1719, at the age of seventeen. Strong, handsome, and intelligent, and even farsighted, he had passed most part of his life in prison with his mother, who showed some political sense and who was careful to see that the Sayyad brothers were kept well-pleased. The young emperor was not devoid of courage and fortitude—this is clear from his conduct in the action against Abdulla Khan at Hasanpur. He had the generosity of his ancestors

and this is clear from the fact that he gave up the practice of confiscating the property of deceased Amirs—a prerogative, always exercised by the Mughal emperors and the collection of the *jaziya*. But he had no power of initiative. He was without experience of war or administration. He was a lover of pleasure and an opium eater and was indolent and indifferent to his duties. He fell under the influence of low-born men and women and spent his time in sport and play, in hearing the *Mahabharat* and *Shah Nama*, without imbibing a particle of the wisdom and pluck of their celebrated heroes. Rahim-un-nissa, better known as Koki Jiu, daughter of a Hindu thatcher, converted to Islam, exercised great influence over him. The emperor was also under the spell of other worthless men, eunuchs, cotton weavers, magicians and courtiers. The very etiquette of court life was discarded. The advice of such experienced officers as the Nizam to the effect that the emperor should assume an air of more gravity and seriousness, put aside all levity, suit behaviour to the situation, regulate life, administer justice himself, and rule the realm like a true Timurid, was thrown to the winds. The result was poverty, ruin and loss of rule. The Amirs and Subedars refused to send money to Delhi. The army grew weak. As the author of the *Siyar* observed, "What figure can the fox make in the lion's den? or what can be expected from a wooden sword opposed to a

keen steel blade ?" The history of the reign of Muhammad hSah is the history of the disintegration of the empire.

The first to oppose the new accession were the chiefs of Amber and Jodhpur, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh. But they were conciliated. Jai Singh was appointed Faujdar of Surat and Ajit Singh became Subedar of Gujarat and Ajmere. But the most important enemies of the new rule were the Nagar politicians and generals, Chhabilram, governor of Allahabad, and his nephew or brother's son, Girdharlal. Allahabad was besieged. Chhabilram died and Girdharlal submitted on being made governor of Oudh. Thus the succession to the throne was secured against all opposition and the Sayyad brothers earned great triumph. But it was the culmination of their power.

Muhammad Shah and his court became disgusted with the Sayyad's influence and power. The brothers kept a close watch over the person and

Destruction of the Sayyads' power.

movements of the young monarch. They still monopolized all patronage. The Turanis were as hostile to them as before. Nizam-ul-mulk was the one able leader of the opposition. The Sayyads wanted to ruin him. They therefore sent him away from Delhi to Malwa in spite of the promise that he would not be disturbed. Nizam-ul-mulk took his new charge and began raising an army, apparently for action

against the Marathas. But Hussain Ali Khan objected to it and suggested his transfer to Agra or Patna. So the Turani chief decided to act at once. He first started in the north, but after going a little further he ordered his army to march suddenly to the south and he occupied Asirgadh and Burhanpur. So Husain Ali Khan sent instructions to his nephew, Alam Ali Khan, a lad of twenty-years, and to Dilawar Ali Khan, who was hovering round Malwa, to crush the Nizam. Alam was the first to fight, but he was defeated and killed near Khandva, June, 1720. In August, Dilawar Ali Khan, who was advancing from Aurangabad with Maratha auxiliaries, was defeated and killed at Balapur. These two battles were turning points in the history of the south, for they established the Nizam there.

Thus in the space of a couple of months, two big armies were destroyed, the six Subas of the Deccan and the province of Malwa were detached from the Sayyads' power, and the Turani faction was supreme in the south.

Seeing power slipping from their hands, the Sayyad brothers made frantic efforts to recover it. Husain Ali Khan, who was Subedar of the Deccan, Agra, Ajmere and Gujarat, took the young emperor with him and marched for the south. But the king-makers' days were over. One noon a Sayyad, Haidar Beg by name, dropped a petition into the

End of Husain Ali Khan.

The administration of the Sayyads was now over. But Muhammad Shah was not free from tutelage. From the control of the able Sayyads, he passed under worthless and incompetent persons.

As usual, different versions are given of the conduct and policy of the two

A review of the policy and character of the Sayyads, brothers and their men, specially Ratanchand. Rustam Ali, the author of the *Tarikh-i Hindi* and a contemporary, said that the emperor observed all

the ancient laws and established rules of his ancestors as long as Husain Ali Khan lived and that the latter managed the affairs of the state in a wise and excellent manner, deciding all disputes without partiality and according to the Mahamedan law. He accused their adversaries, the Turani nobles, of perfidy, selfishness and unworthy ambition. The Sayyads' treatment of Farrukhsiyar excited alarm, indignation and a sense of uncertainty in the minds of all. But we should remember that Abdulla Khan was at first opposed to the deposition of that monarch and was forced into that action by Husain Ali Khan. All resented the brothers' monopoly of power and specially the influence of Ratanchand, whom they compared with Hemu—a compliment, not deserved by him, because Ratanchand was neither the first minister nor a soldier—he played a subordinate part only in the development of the tragedy. Still monopoly of power was necessary to the brothers, if they at all cared for their safety. But the result was fatal. The nobility of every province carried on their existence in disgrace and disgust. The Sayyads relied too much on their countrymen of the eastern province. They did not sufficiently realize their want of experience, their military weakness, and lastly, the strength of the opposition. Ratanchand was aware of this weakness. So he advised peace with the Rajputs, Hindus, Chhabilram and Girdharlal and even with the Nizam. It

was Husain Ali, who compelled his elder brother to allow him to separate from him and march to the Deccan with the emperor. That was the commencement of a civil war. The Sayyads' administration was mild, beneficent, and liberal. People had not many grievances against them. They spent liberally on charities and promotion of learning. Husain Ali Khan was energetic, insolent, and vain-glorious. Abdulla was fond of wine, woman and money. Many a time the brothers would fall out on the question of spoils of victory and taking of offices; then the intercession of Ratanchand was sought for and all differences were settled. The Turanis and Persians, the aristocracy and the royal family considered the Sayyads as upstarts and that was one of the reasons of their fall. Again, the administration of the Sayyad brothers was specially favourable to Hindus. It abolished the hated poll-tax, the *jaziya*. Ratanchand's management of the *diwani* or department of revenue was disliked by men like the Nizam because he farmed out land to the highest bidder. He inspired the Sayyads to carry out the abrogation of the *jaziya*. The soundness of the first policy was questionable, while the wisdom of the second was beyond dispute. ¹But

¹The *jaziya* seems to have been revived because soon after triumph over the Sayyads the emperor abolished it on the request of Raja Girdharlal Nagar
a revenue of Rs. 4 crores.

long after when controversy had subsided, when the power and name of the great Mughal inspired neither fear nor veneration, and when his empire was but a fact of past history, another historian, the author of the *Siyar*, lamented that the two brothers were not spared a little longer to serve their master and his subjects, for "if they had, it is probable that the times, which we have now the mortification to behold, would not be so humiliating as they have proved, nor could the honour of Hindustan have been thrown to the winds, nor the Indian nobility and gentry reduced to that deplorable condition to which we now see them brought." As observed by Irvine in his *Later Mughals*, "with the disappearance of the Sayyad brothers the story of the later Mughals attained a sort of dramatic completeness." New policies and new men appear on the scene.

The history of the reign of Muhammad Shah is occupied so much with the Nizam-ul-mulk. activities of Nizam-ul-mulk, the great chief of the Turani party and founder of the present state of Haiderabad that we should pause awhile to give a brief account of his antecedents.

Samarkand and Bokhara were the homes of the ancestors of the Nizam. His grand-father, Khwaja Abid, was Kazi of Bokhara. Once he passed through India on his way to Mecca and while returning back, he accepted service under Aurangzib, who

his brother, Husain Ali, Subedar of the Deccan and transferred the Nizam to Muradabad, where he worked as Faujdar, 1715-1718. After Farrukh's death in 1719, the Nizam was made Subedar of Patna. But he was the chief of the opposition. So in 1720 he was transferred to Malwa. But he marched to the south and was opposed by the armies of Dilavar Ali and Alam Ali, whom he destroyed. Muhammed Shah was soon released from the Sayyad grip and so he made the Nizam his Vazir, 1721. During his *vazirat* he tried to restore the prestige of the empire but was misunderstood, thwarted and even scoffed at as a "Deccani monkey." The Subedari of Gujarat was offered to him. So he left Delhi. But while passing through Malwa, he changed his mind and suddenly turned back to Delhi, July, 1723. Once more the old game against him was started by the emperor and his courtiers. So the Vazir got disgusted and on the pretence of bad health, left the court to proceed to his *jagirs* in Sambhal. But when his camp was on the Chambal near Gwalior, he gave out that he would go to the Deccan and fight the Marathas, who were invading Gujarat and Malwa. His enemies saw their chance. At once the emperor sent secret instructions to Mubariz Khan, an officer at Aurangabad, to oppose the Nizam's progress. The two fought at Sakar Khara, situated 80 miles from Aurangabad in Berar, October, 1724. Once more good luck favoured

the Nizam. Mubariz was defeated and killed. As soon as the emperor knew this, he made the best of the evil and appointed the victor to the viceroyalty of the Deccan. From this date begins the history of the Haiderabad state as a semi-independent principality.

We shall narrate the subsequent career of this great man in its proper place and in its relation to the development of our theme. But here

Character and policy
of the Nizam.

we should give an idea of his character and policy. Schooled in the traditions of Alamgir or Aurangzib, the Nizam tried to give practical effects to them. He was opposed to the rise of the Persian and Hindustani parties to power. He believed implicitly in the talents and abilities of the Mughals to rule, fight, and administer the affairs of a great empire. He was equally opposed to the association of the Rajputs and other Hindus in the administration and defence of the state. He never approved of the abrogation of the Sunni ruler's right to collect the *jaziya* from Zimmis. He did not agree with the Sayyad brothers' policy to surrender supremacy over Rajputana and Maharashtra and to give away the right of *chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* to the Marathas. The religious and communal zeal of the Nizam went further. He was prepared to barter away the wealth of his country and the prestige of his master to a foreigner like Nadir Shah, if he could only

succeed in accomplishing the destruction of the Marathas and his rival, Khan Dauran, at Delhi. He was one of the party to invite the Shah of Persia. On the other hand, a man of his genius could have negotiated alliances with the Rajputs and Marathas and driven away the enemy. Did the Nizam aim at independence? He never openly said so. He used to say, "May throne and umbrella bring good fortune to him who holds them! My business is to preserve my honour, and if this be mine, what need have I of an imperial throne?" His assumption of chief power in the Deccan against an overwhelming opposition from the north is rather excusable if we remember the uncertainty of the political situation at Delhi, the fickleness of the emperor, and lastly the growing Maratha power in the south. He turned away the progress of that race from his own land to the north.

But the Nizam was a man of great virtues. He had the merits of a soldier of fortune and a ruler of men. He was opposed to needless violence. He refrained from taking part in the wars of succession from 1707 to 1719. He sent urgent messages for amicable settlement to Dilavar, Alam Ali, and Mubariz. He never stained his hands with blood. He tried to save Abdulla Khan Sayyad from infamy and death. He showed the same merit of a minister of peace, when he negotiated alliances with the Marathas. Of course as a soldier he had a great reputation.

But he should be chiefly known as *the* man of peace. In Muradabad, Malwa, and the Dëccan; wherever he was posted, his first care was to reform the administration, to punish the disturbers of peace, to improve agriculture, to reform the army and to replenish the treasury. He advised the emperor to abolish the system of farming, to abandon the practice of accepting *peshkush* from office-bearers-it virtually amounted to a sale of offices-to curtail the number of Jagirdars, and to dismiss low companions. The Nizam, as he himself said, was first and last a man of honour. He treated the families of the Sayyad brothers with a generosity, which it would be hard to expect from a politician of his age-he escorted them safe to the north, when he could have held them as hostages and pawns for more favourable negotiations. He never enriched himself by lust, bribery, or violence. Prisoners of war were exceedingly well-looked after by him. We should not fail to notice another virtue in the man. He believed in the legitimacy of the *jaziya*. But he never felt the barbarian's pleasure in the destruction of temples or forced conversions to Islam.

One part of his policy it is hard to explain. He once advised Muhammad Shah to lend assistance to the Shah of Persia against the Afghans out of gratitude for help rendered by its monarch to Humayun, and even volunteered to lead the expedition himself.

The Nizam practised the virtue of caution almost to a fault. But his judgment was clear. He was a man of great political cunning. He died in May, 1748, at Burhanpur.

Unfortunately for the empire, his lot was cast in an age, which refused to hear him and which rather scoffed at his earnestness and zeal. Rustam Ali, author of the *Tarikh-i Hindī*, speaks of him in very bad terms. 1

It was during the reign of Muḥammad Shah that the Mughals lost the province of Gujarāt permanently. Loss of Gujarāt. Begin- nings. Shivaji had looted Surat twice, once in 1664 and again in 1670; he had occupied part of the present state of Dharampur; then known as Ramnagar; he had sent raiding parties one in 1675, and the other in 1677, as far as Broach; but he had neither the leisure nor the intention to cut off any noteworthy slice of territory from this part of the empire. After the flight of Raja Ram to Maharashtra, Aurangzib concentrated all his resources on the conquest of Mahārashtra and the Marāthā invasion of Gujarāt began almost with the opening of the eighteenth century, 1702. Shivaji's conquests of the Balgān forts of Saler and

1 The Marāthā historian, Mr. Sardesai, says:-

पुद्गिता, शौर्य, राजचातुर्य, दीर्घायुष्य, इत्यादि गुण आनुवंशिक प्रघाताने ह्या निजामाचे घराण्याचे पुढवांत स्पष्ट दिसून येतात.

Muler afforded important bases for invasion and security from retaliation. The famous Baba Piarā ford on the Narbāda was crossed now; raids into the Surat and Broach districts became very frequent; and Khande Rao Dabhade, the Senapati, and Damaji Gaekwar, Shamsheer Bahadur, carried their depredations in Kathiawar as early as 1711. Kanthaji Kadam Bande † and Udaji Pawar raided northern Gujarat and Damaji established a permanent military post at Songadh near Surāt, whence he could easily dart into the plains below. Khande Rao and Damaji were succeeded by Trimbak Rao and Pilaji. In 1719 the Marathas obtained the rights of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the six Deccani Subas, out of which Khandesh and Baglan were assigned to the Peshwa. Gujarat was just near these assignments. So it became the easier and the first prey. The annexation of the province was facilitated by the bigotry and lust of some local Mughal officers, by the intrigues of the Amirs at Delhi, and by the strong re-action following upon the narrow Sunnism of Aurangzib.

Up to 1713 the Subedars of Gujarat were supported by the central government and there was little intrigue either there or at Ahmedabad to frustrate the viceroy's attempts to prevent the Marathas from accomplishing a permanent occupation of

†From his colours were borrowed the red and white stripes of the standards of Baroda and Indore.

the province. But after 1713 and especially 1719, the Subedars were superseded one after another and the imperial government placed not only obstruction in the good administration of the province but even accentuated party strife. This encouraged the deputies and other officers to court the intervention of the Gaekwar, Dabhade, Peshwa or Bande. The inviting party scored a temporary triumph. But the ultimate consequence was the loss of the province. This broad fact must be remembered to follow the complicated history of the Maratha invasion and conquest of Gujarat.

In 1723, Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed viceroy of Gujarat, but he sent his uncle, Hamid Khan, to take charge of the province. In the mean

Chouthai to the Marathas in Gujarat.

time the Nizam was superseded by Surbuland Khan, who ordered Hamid Khan, the Nizam's deputy, to give up the charge to Shujat Khan. Hamid Khan did this with great reluctance. But his nephew and master, the Nizam, requested Kanthaji Kadam Bande to help him in the recovery of Gujarat and promised him the *chouthai* of lands, west of the river Mahi. So Shujat was killed and Hamid entered Ahmedabad, December, 1721. He took sole charge of the province and *the Marathas under Bande obtained for the first time the chouthai of the northern part of Gujarat.*

Now Hamid Khan had secured only the

The whole province was now opened to Maratha incursions. But during the vicereignty of Sarbuland Khan, 1725-30, they could not get the better of the Mughals. He abrogated the concessions made by his predecessor to Bande, Pilaji and Trimbak Rao Dabhade, and transferred them to the Peshwa Baji Rao and Raja Shahu of Satara. The confederates therefore fought against Baji Rao at Bhulapur near Dabhoi in April, 1731, where Trimbak Rao was killed. Baji Rao now appointed the minor Dabhade as Senapati and Pilaji as his agent, making the latter *Sena Khas Khel*. Sarbuland's successor, Abhay Singh, Raja of Jodhpur, got Pilaji murdered at Dakor in 1732. Pilaji's son, Damaji, was a great general and statesman. He recovered the lost position and got a share in the revenues of Ahmedabad, 1738. In course of time, all Gujarat and Kathiawar agreed to pay tributes to him. In 1753 Raghoba led a great invasion and took possession of Ahmedabad

which was permanently occupied in 1757. The Mughal empire in Gujarat was now terminated and those officers of the empire, who remained in Gujarat and Kathiawar and who had hitherto maintained an unequal fight, signed agreements with the Marathas, whereby they were guaranteed in their possessions. They were the rulers of Junagadh, Jamnagar, Palanpur, Radhanpur, Cambay, Surat, Idar, Rajpipla, etc.

We saw how the Mughal occupation of Bundelkhand was contested by the Bundela Rajas, the last of whom were Champat Rai and Chhatrasal. In 1720, the court of Delhi appointed Muhammad Khan Bangash as governor of the province of Allahabad. Bangash's deputy, Dilir Khan, was defeated and killed in 1721 by Raja Chhatrasal, who sent help to the revolted Nagar governor, Raja Girdharlal. On account of this, expeditions were sent to Bundelkhand, when the Bundelas, though helped by the Marathas and Jats, were compelled to surrender, 1723-28. The victorious general was now waiting for fresh orders from his master at Delhi for the disposal of the conquered lands, when he was informed that the Marathas were advancing to the aid of the Bundela chief under the command of Peshwa Baji Rao. The Deccan army joined Chhatrasal in March, 1729, enclosed Muhammad's camp and routed his son, Kayam Khan. The brave Afghan governor sent

piteous appeals for help to Delhi and to Oudh; but none came. He saw that he was fighting for a lost and unworthy cause. So he made peace with Chhatrasal and promised never to attack him as long as he paid his tribute regularly. After this Chhatrasal ceded lands near Jhansi to Baji Rao, whom he adopted as his child and to whom he left on his death in December, 1731, one third of his state, yielding a revenue of 33 lacs a year, and comprising the present territories of Jhansi, Sagar and Sironj, that his children should get the necessary protection against the Mughals. The Peshwa appointed Govind Pant, a Brahmin, to manage the newly acquired territories. Balaji, the third Peshwa, made the necessary arrangements for their administration. The Marathas were thus established at the very gateway of the Subas of Agra, Allahabad and Oudh and the Mughal hold on Bundelkhand was gone for ever.

Malwa and Gujarat were the most important and the richest provinces of the

Loss of Malwa.

empire and their annexation by the Marathas left an irremediable wound in the body politic. The return of Raja Ram from Jinji to his homeland was the occasion for the first Maratha incursion into Malwa, which Malcolm put down in the year, 1690, and it recurred almost every year. The administration of the province changed hands often and its defence was exceedingly weak. No

viceroy of Malwa obtained adequate and sincere help from the court of Delhi, where the emperor and the Vazir trusted none. At the same time the reaction, which followed upon the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzib, Bahadur Shah and the Nizam, completely alienated the princes of Rajputana and the local aristocracy of Malwa. The chief of the latter was one Gaud Brahmin, Nandlal by name. He was the *Chaudhari* of Ujjain and was in secret correspondence with the Maratha leaders, Malhar Rao Holkar and Udaji Pawar, who occupied Indore and Dhar. Nandlal received encouragement from Savai Jai Singh, Maharaja of Jaipur, who was a great friend of the two Peshwas, Baji Rao and his son, Balaji. The local aristocracy very much resented the administration of the Subedar, Raja Bahadur Girdharlal, nephew of Chhabilram Mehta,* who had championed the cause of his master's son, the late emperor Furrukhsiyar.

The Raja Bahadur enforced a very strict realization of the land-tax from the Zamindars, Amils and Chaudharis. The Nizam secretly encouraged the Marathas to invade Malwa in order to escape from the effects of their depredations on his own lands. Raja Girdharlal was killed in a fight with

* I learn from my esteemed friend, Mr. Manshanker Pitambaras Mehta of Bhavnagar, that this Nagar family had their home in Mangrol in Kathiawar and that it was connected with the future author of the *Soruth-i-Tawarikh*.

Baji Rao's brother, Chimnaji Appa, near Mandu in November, 1728. Girdharlal was succeeded by his cousin, Dayaram, who met with the same fate next month. His successor, Raja Bhavani Ram, who was the son of Raja Girdharlal, resisted the Marathas for two years, 1729-1731, but without any result. These governors sent pathetic appeals to Nandlal Chaudhari and his party for assistance. But the latter refused and sent secretly all the information about their movements to the intruders from the south. * Nandlal allowed his own family to be blown up by mines in the action at the Tirla Pass. The distracted court of Delhi sent

*Nandlal is mentioned by Malcolm. Vide *Central India*, I, 68. where his grandson tells Malcolm the same story.

A few extracts from letters, which passed between the parties concerned, are given below from G. S. Sardesai's *Riyasat*, II. Dayaram's letter to Nandlal:—आपके मरजीके सिवाय मालवेमें कौन बात हुवी न होनेवाली है वो तो नहीं. पादशाह साहेब सब तरफ भरोसा आपका रखकर राजासाहेबकी जगें आपका स्थापित करके ऐसाही मानपान रखते होते. In another letter he says:—अपना मालवदेश दुसरेसे हाथपर मत दो; ईश्वर करेगा तो महाराजा साहेब गिरधर बहादुरकी फिर गादी स्थापित हो जावेगी; वंश कुछ डुबा नहि है. आप उनके स्थापित प्रधान हो; बैठे हो तो वो दिन आवेगा; पर बैरा—दुश्मने को लानेसे कुछ न होगा. आगे ये मसठे लोग इस दिनके याद नहि करेंगे ऐसा जानो, ओर आप इनको मदद मत करो ये मेरी आखर बिनति है. No answer was given to these pathetic calls for help in an hour of need. The result was that Dayaram was killed. When Jai Singh learnt it, he wrote to Nandlal.—हजार शाबास हैं के फक्त हमारे कोलके उपर आप सब मालवे सरदार रहकर, अपना धर्मका कल्याण होना, ओर मालवेमें

Muhammad Bangash in 1731. But he received no better treatment from the court of Delhi and when his ally, the Nizam, retired to the Deccan in fear of an invasion of his dominion by Paji Rao's host, Muhammad Bangash made peace with the Marathas and resigned his post, December, 1732. He was succeeded by Savai Jai Singh,* who was the secret ally of the Marathas and the great friend of the family of the Peshwas.

The Maharaja was paid lavishly by the emperor to resist the Marathas. But he turned the payments to his private use and passed his days mostly in his own kingdom in indolence and town planning. He bought off the Marathas by liquidating with them the revenues of the best tracts of his Suba, 1731-1733.

Muhammad Shah's court could not look with indifference at this continued reduction on the province of Malwa to helplessness. It organized a great

चमकी वृद्धि होना, ये बात विचारकर मालवेमें सुमलमानों को नेपद दिये, और चमक चमक रखा, इनारा मनोरथ आपने पूरा किया. Such was the miserable state to which Aurangzib brought his empire by his anti-Rajput and anti-Hindu policy.

The dates are given here according to the latest corrections from the Peshwa's *Daftar* and J. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I.

*Jai Singh decorated his new capital, Jaipur, and constructed observatories, *Janter Marter* as the vulgar call them, with the help of the Jesuit Fathers Boudier, Antoine Gabelsperguer and Andre Strobl from Bengal and Germany respectively.

plan to resist the Marathas and the Vazir, Kamruddin, and the Bakhshi, Khan-i-Dauran, led a great army of 25,000 men, to expel the enemy from Malwa in 1734. They were helped by Rajput princes with their contingents. But the allies could not fight with vigour and decision and the Marathas had to be bribed once more, 1735. The Bakhshi promised to pay Rs. 25 lacs as *chaauth* for Malwa and the Maratha generals, Ranoji Sindhia, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Pilaji Jadhav, agreed to retire beyond the Narbada. This agreement was due to the friendly intervention of Savai Jai Singh, who advised the Mughal commanders to sue for peace. Naturally the imperial court was greatly displeased with him and Sadat Khan, governor of Oudh, led the intrigue against the supporters of the Raja's policy. The shrewd Maharaja therefore invited Peshwa Baji Rao to enter Malwa, ostensibly to frighten his enemies at the court, and if possible, to visit even Rajputana.

The Peshwa was not slow to accept this strange invitation and he entered Rajputana, visited the rulers of Udaipur and Jaipur, and entered into various agreements with the Rajput princes. At the same time Maratha forces ravaged imperial territory as far as the Doab. Consequently the negotiations for peace did not materialize.

So Baji Rao led another invasion of Malwa in 1737-38. He ravaged the Gangetic plain and

sacked the environments of Delhi. But the Vazir defeated him and he was afraid of the advance of Sadat Khan's army from Oudh. So he beat a hasty retreat.

In the late negotiations Baji Rao had demanded the full cession of Gujarat and Malwa, and places of Hindu pilgrimage in Oudh and Allahabad, besides rights over the Nizam in the Deccan. Naturally the demands were refused by the government of Delhi, though for the time being, the inundation had been averted. But the crisis was not over and the emperor and his advisers were convinced that the only means of escape lay in hearty co-operation with the Nizam. Urgent messages were therefore sent to him to hasten up to the metropolis. A royal welcome awaited the old minister. He was made Asaf Jha and his eldest son, Ghazi-ud-din, was made governor of Malwa and Agra. The Nizam took the field against Baji Rao, who crossed the Narbada with 80,000 men and shut up his enemy in Bhopal. The imperialists were helped by the Rajputs this time and they were 50,000 strong. But their communications with the north were cut off. So they capitulated. A convention was signed at Durai Sarai, 64 miles from Sironj, by which the Nizam promised to Baji Rao the whole of Malwa and complete sovereignty over the territory between the Chambal and the Narbada; he also agreed to prevail upon the emperor to pay 50

lacs; January, 1738. The old man then returned to Delhi.

But the Maratha scare was not over. The imperial court did not ratify the late convention. So Balaji, Baji Rao's son and successor, pursued his father's policy and asked for the permanent cession of Malwa. The Peshwa met the Nizam in 1741, and although the emperor was prevailed upon to agree to the payment of a small sum of money, the permanent detachment of Malwa could not be obtained from him. So Balaji sent his generals to Malwa, and himself met Raja Jai Singh. He promised help to the emperor in recovering tributes from the disobedient Subedar of Bengal. He even marched as far as Murshidabad. Muhammad Shah was advised by Mahārāja Jai Singh not to attempt a fight with the Marathas. So he issued a *firman*, granting the *naib-Subedari* of Malwa to Balaji on condition that he and his servants did not disturb the peace of the province and that they sent loyal aid to their master when necessary, July, 1741. Thus Malwa was permanently detached from the empire.

✓ The decay of the Rajput race resulting from the withdrawal of the Mughal protection and the loss of opportunity for service and acquisition of experience in a larger sphere on account of the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzib, were pointed out in

Loss of Mughal hold over Rajputana.

the critique on that emperor's reign. The eighteenth century therefore opened with internecine warfare in Rajputana and Maratha exploitation there. Clan fought against clan, state against state, family against family. The court of Delhi could offer no protection. Its interference was defied and defeated and the different parties vied with one another in courting Maratha alliance. In the beginning the offer of friendship from the Deccan was even welcome, as it was the only way to turn out the rule of *jaziya* and temple destruction. In course of time, however, the Rajputs found to their bewilderment that the fellowship of the Deccan politician meant the partition of their patrimony, which even the ruthless wars of Alauddin Khilji and his successors had not succeeded in accomplishing. Let us see how this came to pass in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

Three Rajput states took a leading part in this affair. They were Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bundi, ruled respectively by the Kachchwas, Rathods and Hadas. The Hada clan was led by the two houses of Bundi and Kota, which fought as rivals under Budh Singh and Dalil Singh with his son, Ummed Singh. In Jaipur the succession was disputed by Ishwari Singh and his younger brother Madho Singh, who was the nephew of the Maharana of Udaipur and to whom the succession was promised by Jai Singh. In Jodhpur the death of Maharaja

Abhay Singh, 1749, son of Ajit Singh, was followed by civil war between Ram Singh, Abhay Singh's son, and Bhakt Singh, his uncle, who was the ruler of Nagor.

Maharaja Jai Singh occupied a highly important position at the imperial court and he aspired to avail himself of it by imposing his overlordship on the whole of Rajasthan. Marwar and Udaipur could have offered resistance to such a design. But in the eighteenth century, Marwar was torn by internal disputes and Udaipur inspired neither respect nor fear in Rajput minds. The first step in accomplishing this design was taken by Jai Singh in 1729 when he occupied Bundi during the absence of its legitimate ruler, Budh Singh, installed Dalil Singh, a Hada prince, on the throne under his protection with the approval of the suzerain power at Delhi, and gave him his daughter. Budh Singh received help from Pratap Singh, eldest brother of Dalil Singh, whose elevation to the throne of Bundi roused his jealousy. They solicited assistance from Mulhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia, who entered Rajasthan the first time in 1734.

The Maratha invasion of Rajasthan roused the anger of all its princes, who could clearly see its results. They conferred together to meet the situation under the leadership of Jai Singh. But no concerted plan could be fixed and Jai Singh was too involved in Maratha friendship to lead an

all-Rajput confederacy against his allies and supporters in Malwa. The Mughal emperor was powerless to protect his own empire, much less his feudatories, although the court made some feeble attempt to save its reputation. Jai Singh next intervened in the dispute between Jodhpur and Bikaner on request from Bhakt Singh, brother of Maharaja Raj Rajeshwara Abbay Singh. He died in September, 1743. But the dissensions and intrigues which he introduced in his native land continued with disastrous results to her princes and people.

Jai Singh's throne was disputed by his two sons, Ishwari Singh and Madho Singh, whose cause was supported by his maternal uncle, Maharana Jagat Singh of Udaipur, while the Raja of Jodhpur supported Ishwari Singh's cause. The princes also purchased the support of the Marathas, with whose inordinate demands, Raja Ishwari Singh was so un-
 verved that eventually he committed suicide by swallowing poison and then allowing himself to be stung by a cobra, December, 1750. Even his most trusted ministers and servants were kept in the dark about the matter. His successor, Madho Singh, fared no better with the new allies, with whom he got so disgusted that he planned a general massacre of the Maratha generals, which lasted for full nine hours from ward to ward in Jaipur, January, 1751.

At Bundi Ummed Singh was crowned in October, 1748, and Bhakt Singh became Raja of Jodhpur in July, 1751, but with reduced territories. The price of Maratha aid fell heavily on all, Rajput or Mughal. The result of Maratha rapacity on Rajputana was that the Deccani politician became very unpopular in that land and all Rajputana was glad to replace him by the British.

Nadir Kuli—for that was the first name of

Nadir Shah—was born in Khorasan in 1688 in the Afshar tribe.

His father was governor of Dastgarh, his birth place. But he died young and Nadir's uncle refused to part with its possession. So the young man took service under the local governor and rendered loyal and distinguished service to him, especially in turning out the Uzbek invaders. Once he was taken prisoner by the Turks. But he managed to secure release. Then he took to a free-booter's life. About this time Shah Husain, the weak sovereign of Persia, was expelled and killed by the Afghan rebels of the province of Kandahar. The other provinces of Persia were annexed by Russia, Turkey, and the Uzbeks. Nadir Kuli joined Prince Tahmasp, the only son of his late sovereign, recovered Persia from the Afghans, defeated and killed the usurper and installed Tahmasp on his ancestral throne. Then he accepted Sunnism, blinded and deposed his sovereign and placed a child

on the throne and on his death in 1736, himself became the Shah of Persia with the unanimous approval of the people. Then he completed the conquest of Kandahar, drove away the Afghans and annexed Balkh also.

Mughal emperors and Persian Shahs exchanged diplomatic courtesies even though they were not always on friendly terms. But since the accession of Muhammad Shah, his ministers had departed from that practice and though the Shah of Persia sent his Vakils to Delhi, no such agents waited on him from Delhi. At the same time the Mughal government sent secret emissaries to the Afghan rebels of Kandahar. So Nadir Shah sent his Vakils to Delhi, asking the emperor not to give quarters to the rebels in India or Afghanistan. The court of Delhi gave assurances. But the Ghilzais entered Kabul and Ghazni. Nadir Shah protested against this and sent a third embassy to Delhi. The court of Delhi detained the envoy, gave him no satisfactory answer and made it appear that it did not recognise Nadir's rule as that of a constitutional king. The Shah thereupon re-called his envoy after he had stayed at Delhi for more than a year, although his first instruction was to stay there only for forty days. The defence of Afghanistan and the Punjab was at the

time in weak condition.* There are even strong reasons to believe that the Nizam and Sadat Khan, leaders of the anti-Hindustani party, invited Nadir to make short work of the Marathas † Nadir himself made the abolition of the *jaziya* and the surrender of important rights to Marathas the chief grounds for his invasion! That was however the apparent reason; the real reason was the weakness of the Indian monarchy.

Nadir Shah started for the invasion of India in May, 1738, captured Gazni and Kabul, where he heard of the murder of his agent by a chief at Jalalabad. So he seized that place, put all its people to the sword and entered India. The governor of Lahore, finding resistance useless, submitted and paid a large fine. The whole of the Punjab now fell to the victor. At Delhi everything was in confusion. Appeals for help were made to the Rajputs and to Baji Rao. But none came. At last a decision was arrived at and the imperial army was entrenched

*Nasir Khan, Governor of Kabul, said that he himself was but as a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn while his soldiery no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit.

†Fraser in his *life of Nadir Shah* gives copies of letters which he obtained from Mirza Mughal, son of Ali Muhammad Khan at Ahmedabad, written by the secretary of Sarbuland Khan, once governor of Gujarat, and others.

at Karnal. The emperor was himself present there with all his Amirs. The action took place on the 12th of February, 1739. The Indian army was easily defeated. Vazir Khan Douran was killed. Sadat Khan was taken prisoner. Immense booty fell into the hands of the enemy.

Nadir Shah, on the advice of Sadat Khan, called the Nizam and agreed to retire on receiving 50 lacs. But Sadat Khan urged Nadir to ask for more and even to go to Delhi, for he was jealous of the Nizam's eminence. So Nadir demanded 20 crores and had the emperor and his camp strongly watched. He was proclaimed emperor, the *khutba* was read in his name and coin was struck with his stamp, March, 1739.¹ As Baburao Mulhar, Shahu's Vakil at Delhi, wrote to his master:—The Chagatai—the Mughal empire—was wrecked; the Irani rule had commenced.²

Hitherto everything had passed on well; but an accident occurred now, which Sack and loot of Delhi. brought untold miseries to the people of Delhi. On Saturday

¹Anandram Mukhlis, author of the *Tazkira* says: "How strange are the freaks of fortune! Here was an army of 100,000 bold and well-equipped horsemen, held as it were in captivity, and all the resources of the emperor and his grandees at the disposal of Kazalbash (red caps as the Persians were called). The Mughal monarchy appeared to be at an end." Anandram was an eye-witness.

²चकतियांची बादशाही उडाली; इराणी झालि.

the 10th of March, a rumour was started by some that the Shah was poisoned. At once bad characters in the city began attacking his soldiers. The falling of the *Zohi* holidays the same time added to the number of the ruffian and their hooliganish activities. First the Shah kept quiet. The tumult still continued. So next day, Nadir ordered a general massacre of the people in those wards where the mischief was the worst. The slaughter and pillage lasted about five hours of the day. At the least 30,000 people were butchered to death. The neighbouring villages were also pillaged. Then Nadir returned home. The peacock-throne, the *luk-i-kur*, immense quantity of pearls, jewels, diamonds, silver and gold plates, cash, costly cloth, horses, elephants, etc. were taken away. Heavy indemnities were exacted from the citizens. When the Shah returned home, he excused his people from payment of taxes for three years and paid lavish salaries and allowances to his army. Besides this, he took with him a large number of artisans and clerks to build a city like Delhi in Persia. He had stayed in Delhi for 57 days. His son was married to a Mughal princess.

The worthless and cowardly court of Delhi
 Effects of the invasion. was compelled to part with immense treasures by Nadir Shah in a four months' campaign. But a more serious wound was inflicted on the dying empire. Nadir Shah annexed the provinces of Kabul, Sindh and

Kashmir and required the governor of Lahore to send a large tribute as payment out of the revenues of lands which he had conquered east of the Indus. Nadir Shah's invasion destroyed the good work of the governor of Lahore who had kept in check the turbulent Sikhs. Henceforth local chiefs assumed independence and even removed the emperor's name from coins. The Sikhs now began to gather fresh strength. The government of Delhi had not the power to control them and they ravaged the land as far Delhi. The Afghans, no longer the subjects of the emperor, looked forward to the conquest of the Punjab and if possible, of the Indian empire. So Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions of India followed inevitably in the train of Nadir Shah's work. The Marathas, Jats, and Rohillas grew bolder. The events of 1739, therefore, heralded only too clearly the impending doom of the empire and the emperor and his court remained in perpetual terror of Nadir Shah.¹

The invasion of Nadir Shah was followed

seven years later, by that of
 End of Muhammad Shah's reign. Death of the Nizam. Ahmad Shah Abdali; we shall treat of it in its proper place in the next chapter. But it brought about one event of some moment. The Vazir, Kamruddin Itimad-ud-daula, died of a cannon-shot while facing the

Anandram says: The accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment.

enemy. He was the greatest friend of the emperor and his death "broke the staff of his old age." Muhammad Shah's body had been completely shattered by the free use of opium. He died in April, 1748. The great Nizam died a few months later.

No comments are necessary on the inefficiency and unfitness of Muhammad Shah. He himself was not blind to it; after the departure of Nadir Shah, he ordered that no record should be kept of the events of his reign, because it could not be a pleasant one. "The reins of imperial government have fallen from my hands. I am now the viceroy of Nadir Shah."

CHAPTER XVI.

Last days of Mughal rule. Emperors Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II, 1748-61.

"The period, 1750-61, is doubtless most eventful and revolutionary in the history of India. In the latter half of the 18th century, we meet with very many personalities in northern India, whom our accepted history condemns. Our reason must prove or disprove this condemnation." So says the acute writer on Maratha history, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, and in the following brief account, we shall try to understand the policies of some of the actors who appeared during the last days of the empire.

The death of Muhammad Shah was followed by the installation of Prince Emperor Ahmad Shah. Ahmad as emperor near Panipat on his homeward journey after expelling Ahmad Shah Abdali from the Punjab. The emperor was born in 1727 and had succeeded in defeating the Durani chief. But he had no intelligence. He had spent his life in prison and in the harem. His father would not allow him even to go out for hunting. He would pass whole days and nights in gardens and in the company of women. All power in the state fell in the hands of his mother, Udhambai, who was once a dancing girl, and her favourite, Javid Khan, who was a eunuch and who had no experience of state-affairs. As the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmedshahi* observes:—The emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery or the treasury. He became so absorbed in pleasure that a whole *kos* was turned into a woman's preserve by excluding all males from it, and there the emperor used to disport himself in female company for a week or a month in bower and park." Sometime he devoted a few hours of his day to affairs of administration; but then he had no experience and so he could do nothing that was of real benefit to the state. As time passed, interviews with the emperor became difficult. Javid Khan bestowed honours on men without merit. So the able officers of the state turned away from the court in disgust.

and shame. The army was left in arrears for months, while once two crores of rupees were spent in celebrating the birthday of the emperor's mother. The ministers took the most fertile lands as their personal *jagirs* and the most prosperous provinces, still left to the empire, were transferred to the most selfish and treacherous officers. The court became insolvent and often the best articles in the possession of the emperor had to be sold in order to pay the services and the civil list.

The Vazirship was first given to Safdar Jang, leader of the Persian party, and Subedar of Oudh. But he was a man without capacity or loyalty and he was opposed by Javid Khan and specially the Turani nobles, the chief of whom were the late Nizam's sons, grandsons and nephews. Safdar Jang negotiated an agreement with the Marathas in 1751 against the Ruhilas in Oudh and Ahmed Shah Abdali beyond the Punjab. He brought the Marathas in Oudh. Next he caused Javid Khan to be murdered. But that threw Udhambai and the emperor in the hands of the bitterest enemies of the Persian party, namely the Turani nobles, who brought about the fall of Safdar Jang from power. They represented to Udhambhai and Ahmed Shah that all the ills of the state were due to the Vazir's administration and that all the revenues of the crown-lands were really paid to Safdar Jang's agents. The court acquiesced in the conspiracy and

Safdar Jang and his men were dismissed from office. Safdar Jang retaliated by installing an unknown eunuch whom he declared to be the grandson of Kam Bakhsh as Akbar Adil Shah. So Ahmed Shah declared war on him. Safdar Jang was defeated and compelled to retire to Oudh. As a result the Turani party was supreme at Delhi.

The exit of Safdar Jang from Delhi did not make matters any way the easier for Ahmed Shah, who had neither the capacity nor the experience to control the Turani party. The court soon divided itself into factions, the chief of which was the one led by Shihabuddin, son of Ghaziuddin, son of the great Nizam, a lad of 17 years only, but of unscrupulous character and great power and resoucefulness.¹

¹Prof. J. Sarkar has the following to say about this man in his first volume of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*:—Mir Shihabuddin was the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Firuz Jung, the eldest son of the Nizam, and Zeb-un-nisa or Sultan Begum, the daughter of Kumruddin, Vazir of Muhammad Shah, born in 1737. He "was brought up by his pious father with incredible strictness; he spent his days exclusively with tutors and *mullaks* and the Muslim Sabbath with eunuchs, being never allowed to mix with boys of his own age or to attend any performance by dancing girls, though this was the universal amusement of all classes in that age and almost a matter of course at every social gathering. The result was that his intellect passed through a forced precocious flowering. He mastered several languages, including Turkish, and learned to write with neatness the seven different styles of Arabic penmanship. As a scholar, he was versed in many branches of knowledge and

Mir Shihabuddin was appointed Bakhshi first. But he aspired to be the Vazir of the empire. In this he was opposed by the minister, Intizam, who wanted to save Safdar Jung from annihilation and to crush the ambition of his youthful rival, with the help of the Rajputs and the Jats. Mir Shihabuddin or Imad-ul-mulk at once saw through the game. He therefore anticipated his rival by negotiating an alliance with Mulhar Rao Holkar, and by a lavish use of his father's hoarded wealth and the cruel collection of the rent of crown-lands, created a powerful party. The Holkar entered Delhi with a big army, with whose help Imad deposed Ahmad Shah and placed Azizuddin, son of Muizuddin Jahandar Shah, on the throne as Padi-Shah Alamgir II, June, 1754. Just about this time Safdar Jung also died. He was succeeded by his son Jalaluddin Haidar, better known in history as Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh.

Aziz-ud-din, son of Jahandar Shah by Anupbai, was above fifty when he became emperor. But he was worth-

Emperor Alamgir II.

poet of some note in his time. His intellectual attainments, however, did not weaken his power of action. Unlike his passive retiring father, he was brave in battle, enterprising in action, and a born leader of men in a degree surprising in a lad not yet out of his teens. But all these splendid gifts were vitiated by an utter lack of the moral sense, a boundless ambition, a shameless greed of money, and a ferocious cruelty of disposition that made him one of the monsters of Delhi history.

less. He went out of his apartments only to say public prayers; otherwise he devoted himself to the study of history and theology. He was opposed to music and such pleasures of life. But having passed his time in the prison-house of the princes-*deori salatin*-he took no part in the administration of the empire. The youthful Vazir, Mir Shihabuddin, therefore, conducted the government. The empire was now fast shrinking into the province of Delhi, though it continued to be the centre of continental politics on account of its ancient majesty. Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla chief, plotted against the Vazir, took Ali Ghar, the crown prince under him, and himself became Mir Bakhshi or chief paymaster. But Mir Shihabuddin was a very resourceful man. With the help of the M^rathas, he at once dismissed Najib, slaughtered his new rival, and compelled the crown-prince to fly for very life, to Oudh. He went still further; he made up his mind to get rid of the emperor by crime. Alamgir was very fond of holding religious conversations with Fakirs. So the Vazir once gave out that a great recluse from Kandahar had put up in the old fort of Firoz Shah. The emperor expressed his desire to visit him. The interview was arranged. He went there unattended. But as soon as he entered the chamber, he was surrounded and cut off by the counterfeit hermit and his men, November, 1759. The Vazir raised a grandson of Kambakhsh, Aurangzib's youngest son,

to the imperial office as Shah Jahan II. But he was never acknowledged as such because prince Ali Guhar at once proclaimed himself emperor as Shah Alam. The Abdali had in the meantime invaded India. So the Vazir fled to the Jats and then to the Deccan. In 1790 the British government arranged for his departure from Surat to Macca. During this time the administration of the defunct empire remained with prince Mirza Jawan Bakht, while Shah Alam was at Allahabad with Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh. There he kept up the appearance of an imperial court. In 1771 he returned to Delhi under the protection of Mahadji Sindhia. But by that time the empire was dead and gone.

We described above the succession of two worthless emperors and the intrigues of their courts in order to preserve the unity of our narrative. But during those eventful years, the leaders of the different factions at Delhi were involved in political relations with neighbourly and outside powers, which had far-reaching effects on the fortunes of our country, which called forth from the actors on the scene great powers of action, diplomacy, and organization, and which ultimately led to the destruction of the empire and the disappearance of its very name. Before we take up the events that led up to the great historic fight at Panipat, we shall take a brief notice of the losses which Babar's dynasty suffered in the east, in

Orissa and in Bengal.

Prince Azim-ush-shan was governor of Bengal

when Aurangzib died. But he

Loss of Orissa. Maratha
invasions of Bengal and
Behar.

administered its affairs through
his deputy, the *naib nazim*,

Murshid Kuli Khan, who was

confirmed as Subedar by Farrukh Siyar. Orissa was added to his charge on the accession of Muhammad Shah. Murshid Kuli Khan's administration brought great prosperity to the eastern provinces. His son-in-law, Shuja-ud-din Muhammad, who succeeded him as Subedar, was equally popular. The court transferred to him the province of Behar in 1732. He was succeeded in 1739 by his son, Sarafraz Khan or Alauddaula, who was unfortunately for the people of the provinces, very licentious and unpopular. His administration was therefore opposed by his best officers, the chief of whom were the famous Alivardi Khan and his eldest brother, Haji Ahmed. They defeated and killed the Subedar in 1740. Alivardi now became governor and even succeeded in obtaining the approval of the court. This act opened the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to local intrigues and Maratha invasions.

The late Subedar had appointed his son-in-law, Rustam Jang, to the governorship of Orissa. He now sought to wreak vengeance on the intruder but was repulsed. So he asked Raghuji Bhonsle,

who was seeking an opportunity for the expansion of his power in the east because he was foiled by Peshwa Balaji in the attempt to impose his authority at Poona, and who was therefore only too glad to accept the invitation to intercede, 1741. He sent his minister, Bhaskar Pant Kolhatkar, to lead the invasion of Bengal. The Marathas were helped in their eastern policy by an able Persian officer of Orissa, by name Mir Habib.* The Marathas raided Bengal and plundered its richest financiers without mercy on his advice. They captured Hugli fort, at that time the seat of the Mughal naval power, July, 1742. Ali western Bengal passed into the invader's hands and the Maratha occupation destroyed its agriculture and commerce.

Alivardi Khan now approached Raghuji Bhonsle's great rival at Poona, Peshwa Balaji,

*He " was a native of Shiraz in Persia. Emigrating to Hugli, he at first earned a scanty living by hawking from house to house such goods as he could get on credit from the merchants of his own country settled at that port. Though an absolutely illiterate man, his ready wit, extreme suavity of speech, and perfect command of the Persian language soon enabled him to make his way into the highest circle of society. The pedlar discarded his original profession and blossomed forth into the chief confidant and deputy (*na b*) of Rustam Jang, rising as his master rose in the service of successive Nawabs...His ability and tireless activity were only equalled by his boundless ambition, implacable enmity to Alivardi Khan, and utter lack of moral scruple or generous sentiment." 79-81, vol. I. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, by J. Sarkar.

who entered Behar in aid of the Mughal Subedar, as the imperial court of Delhi was powerless to send the necessary assistance to him. Raghuji Bhonsle evacuated the province. But the price which the Subedar paid for the help was immense. He was required by the Peshwa to surrender the *chauth* of Bengal, besides Rs. 22 lacs, to Raja Shahu, March, 1743.

But peace did not come. Bhaskar Pant was not satisfied with the loot obtained in the two previous raids. So once more he invaded Bengal in 1744, and as described by Gangaram, a contemporary, he spared none. Brahmins, Vaishnavas, Sanyasis, even cows, were not spared. The Peshwa could not send Alivardi any help, because Raja Shahu had divided the respective spheres of influence between him and Raghuji. So Alivardi had two ambitious generals to satisfy now, instead of one. He therefore tried the easiest way to get rid of his enemies. He caused Bhaskar Pant and his attendants to be massacred at a private interview, March, 1744.

Alivardi enjoyed peace for some time. But in 1745 his ablest Afghan general, Mustafa Khan, revolted and seized Patna, inviting Raghuji Bhonsle once more to raid Bengal. The rebel was killed but the Maratha scare continued unabated. Raghuji expelled the governor of Kattak and occupied the whole of Orissa, 1745-46. In that year emperor

Muhammad Shah informed the Subedar that he had passed *firman*s ordering *chauth* to be paid from the revenues of Bengal and Behar to Raghuji and Balaji respectively. Ali Vardi Khan hesitated to execute the order, as he knew it too well that the payment of *chauth* to Balaji would not save him from Raghuji's incursions.

It is needless to enter into great details about these annual visits of the Marathas to Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. They gave no rest to the seventy-three year old Alivardi Khan, who ran from province to province month after month. His difficulties were greatly aggravated by sedition in the army, disloyalty among officers and intrigue and rebellion in the family, for his Bakhshi, Mir Jaffar, the future Nawab under the English protection, his own heir and son-in-law, the future Siraj-ud-daula, and his Afghan officers, all turned traitors to him.

At last Alivardi Khan saw the need of a permanent understanding with his enemies, who agreed to live in peace with him on condition that Mir Habib should be confirmed in the *najib nazim*'s post in Orissa and the Marathas should receive Rs. 12 lacs a year as *chauth* on Bengal, June, 1751. But Mir Habib did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victory. His stern administration was not liked by Janoji Bhonsle, who had him killed one day, August, 1752.

The late agreement had divided Orissa into

two parts, of which Medinipur and Jaleswar were left in the undisputed possession of Alivardi Khan, while Katak, Bilesar and Puri were to be governed by Alivardi's officers but their revenues were assigned to the Bhonsle Rija of Nagpur. Mir Habib's successors in Orissa were very weak men. The administration of Bengal was with the inexperienced Siraj-ud-daula. The East India Company could refuse to pay the *chaauth* of Bengal to the Marathas but it could not dislodge the Marathas from Orissa. So the province passed completely under Maratha rule. It may be mentioned here that the British once negotiated for the surrender of the province to them by the Bhonsle on the latter receiving cash payment of the *chaauth* on Bengal.

The death of Alivardi Khan, the succession of Siraj-ud-daula, the battle of Plassey, and the rise of Mir Jafar to power with the help of Clive

The loss of Bengal and Behar.

and his party, are matters of Anglo-Indian history well known to every one of us, though never presented from the Mughal stand-point. § Mir Jafar's rise to power was illegal and unconstitutional. Prince Ali Guhar fled to Oudh and with the help of the governor of Allahabad, invaded Behar, which formed a part of the recent grant of Subedari from

§ P. E. Roberts in his *Historical Geography of British India*, Part 1. 130, says that the revolution of 1756-7 was the overthrow of a Mahomedan government by the trading and financial

his father, but was repulsed. He made a bold flank movement towards Murshidabad but was again routed. The British eventually expelled him into Oudh, § April, 1760. In 1764, one more attempt was made to recover the eastern provinces by Shuja-ud-daula and the emperor, Shah Alam, but they were defeated at Buxar. So the *diwani* of the provinces was granted to the Company in August, 1765. Hitherto the Company was a rebel in the eyes of the empire; now it returned to its old allegiance. But it was a nominal overlordship. When the emperor returned to his capital, Warren Hastings threw off the mask and declared virtual independence against Shah Alam and his court, 1772.

✓ The ancestors of Ahmed Shah Abdali were Afghans by race and hailed from Herat. He was known as Abdali because an ancestor of his was blessed by a saint as free from all earthly bonds by reason of his

✓ Ahmad Shah Abdali.

classes, Hindu and British, both of whom gained commercially. One fails to see the two points raised here; (1) how they wanted to upset the *Mahomadians* and (2) how the *Hindus* were the gainers. Gulam Husain the author of the *Siyar* has a truer perspective—he laments the ruin of the local aristocracy after the revolution.

§ It was during this campaign Chevalier that Law, relation of the French financier Law, said to the author of the *Siyar* that as far as he could see, there was nothing that he could call government between Patna and Delhi and that if men in the position of Shuja-ud-daula joined him, he would not only beat off the Company but also undertake the administration of the em

close communion with God. Ahmad Shah is also known as Durrani from his title *Durr-i-durrani* meaning "Pearl among Pearls." Ahmad Shah was taken by Nadir Shah in his service as personal attendant and by devotion and ability he became the leader of a large number of loyal troopers. Nadir had a very high opinion about him and had even prophesied that one day he would become a great ruler of men. That monarch was murdered in June, 1744. The Afghan soldiers, afraid of the Persians in the army, chose Abdali as their leader and called him Ahmad Shah who was crowned at Kandahar. He now seized Gazni, Kabul and Peshawar and collected a large army of Afghans.

The Mughal province of the Punjab was at this time seething with discontents and intrigue. Its late governor, Zakariya Khan, who had administered the province with great tact and wisdom, died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, Yahiya Khan, made himself master of the province and drove away his younger brother, Shah Nawaz Khan. The emperor confirmed this revolution by appointing Yahiya Khan deputy governor to administer the Punjab in the absence of the Vazir, who was made the nominal Subedar. Shah Navaz Khan protested against this, invaded Lahore, took a forcible possession of its government and then appealed to Ahmad Shah Durrani for help against the weak and vaci-

llating court of Delhi. He even embraced the Shia religion in order to win cheap popularity with the Persian army of the late Nadir Shah. It should be remembered, however, that Shah Nawaz remained loyal when Ahmad Shah was fighting against the Indians in the Punjab.

The emperor sent his Vazir and Bakhshi and the heir-apparent, prince Ahmad
 Abdali's first invasion. Shah, to the Punjab to punish the revolted governor of Lahore, Hidayat or Shah Nawaz, and invest Yahya Khan with the office. The army was already on its march towards Sirhind when they learnt that Ahmad Shad Abdali had driven away Nasir Khan from the frontiers, invaded India, taken Lahore and burnt Sirhind, and was advancing on Delhi, January–March, 1747. But at Manupur near Sirhind, he was defeated by the Indians so effectively that he retired at once. In the course of the campaign, Ahmed Shah had demanded the cession of Kabul and Thatha, besides a large sum of money. Had the emperor allowed his son and generals to pursue the defeated Afghans, Abdali would have found it very hard to undertake the second invasion of India the very next year.

The first invasion of the Afghan King had been turned back specially by the valour of Mir Mannu, son of the late Vazir and friend of Muhammad Shah. So he was
 Abdali's second invasion. appointed Subedar of Lahore

with the title of Muin ul-mulk. He administered the affairs of the Subedari with great foresight and strength, specially punishing the Sikhs who were about to establish an independent power in the Punjab now. But the new governor was soon attacked by Ahmed Shah by the end of 1748. Had the Subedar been supported by the new government at Delhi he would have successfully turned out the Afghan intruder, but finding his position too weak, he refused to risk a general action and dismissed Abdali to Kandahar by surrendering to him the Mahals of Sialkot, Imanabad and Gujarat, 1749-1750. The loss was due to the weakness and selfishness of the court of Delhi, where the new Vazir, Safdar Jung, refused to send help to the governor of the Punjab and even instigated his enemies to trouble him.

The valiant defence which Mir Mannu had made against the foreigner at Abdali's third invasion, the time of the first invasion and the surrender which he made to him at the time of the second invasion roused the jealousies and suspicions of the Vazir Safdar Jung, who now sent Shah Nawaz Khan as governor of Multan. Mir Mannu opposed and slew Shah Nawaz. He also defeated Nasir Khan, another creature of his enemy. Then he stopped sending the stipulated revenues of the four districts to Abdali. So Abdali again invaded India in 1751-52. The two met each other

at Shahdara on the Ravi, but suddenly Abdali advanced further east and besieged Lahore and blockaded Mir Mannu's post. The Indians were compelled to offer battle but were routed by the Afghans, April, 1752. Mir Munnu now submitted. Ahmed Shah annexed Kashmir and the Punjab up to Sirhind to his dominions. Mir Mannu was re-appointed governor of Lahore as Farzand Khan Rustam-i Hind.*

Hitherto Ahmed Shah Abdali's progress to Delhi, was opposed only by the

A radical change.

provincial officers of the government of Delhi most of whom were men of his own creed; but now he came face to face with the Marathas. Let us see how this was brought about.

In the campaigns of Baji Rao Peshwa, the

The northern policy of the Marathas.

Marathas had many a time entered the *doab* or the land between the Ganges and the Jamna; but

* For his bold but courteous and flattering replies to the conqueror's questions see *History of the Punjab*, P. 224, note, where an extract is given from Abdul Karim Ulvi's work on Ahmed Shah's reign. Ahmed Shah asked, "what would you have done to me if you had captured me?" Muin replied, "I should have cut your head off and sent it to my master the emperor." Abdali asked again, "Now that you have held off so long from making a submission, what should I do to you?" Muin answered, "If you are a shopkeeper, sell me (for a ransom), if you are a butcher, kill me, but if you are a Padshah, then grant me your grace and pardon." The quotation is from Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 1.

it was only a temporary incursion. Balaji, successor of Baji Rao, was first engaged in making arrangements for the permanent occupation and a profitable administration of the lands ceded to his father by the Mughals and Bundela chiefs in Malwa and Bundelkhand. When he completed this work, he began to develop the threads of his acute foreign policy. In one way he was only spinning out the ideas of his father into a uniform and coherent system. Baji Rao had demanded *jagirs* in Oudh and Behar. Balaji now went a step further. He intended to utilize the Maratha armies of the north for the recovery of Rohilkhand to the Mughal empire. All places of Hindu pilgrimage were to be brought under Maratha control. The power of the Rohillas was to be annihilated; the Vazir of Oudh was to be compensated for his loss of Oudh in Behar and the East India Company in Bengal was to be overawed in the name of the empire. The first step in this great imperial policy was to take the person of the emperor under Deccani tutelage and to make the Vazir and the Bakhshi, the chief officers at Delhi, partisans of the Maratha cause. This clever and original scheme was evolved in the space of a decade. It just missed consummation on account of the crushing defeat at Panipat. The Rohillas were the first to be taken within the orbit of this imperial policy.

Rohilkhand was first known as Katehr and Sambhul-Moradabad and in the

The Empire and the Rohillas. best days of the Mughal rule, formed a part of the Suba of Delhi. The Afghans from Roh occupied the south-east corner of it in the 17th century and gave it the name of Rohilkhand. One Daud, a slave in the house of Shah Alam Khan, an Afghan saint's descendant, engaged himself under the services of some Rajput landholders in Ketehr and established an independent power in the beginnings of Muhammad Shah's reign. He was treacherously murdered by his Rajput master. So his Sirdars elected his adopted son, Ali Muhammad Khan, a converted Jat, to the chief place. He died in 1749. Hafiz Rahamat Khan and Dunde Khan, the two Rohilla Sirdars, now installed Sadulla Khan as their chief. Safdar Jang happened to be the Subedar of Oudh, at the time and he was very anxious to terminate the power of the Rohillas. So he requested the Marathas to intercede and help him in the reduction of his enemies. Mulhar Rao Holkar and Jayapa Sindhia at once agreed and the Vazir procured from the emperor a *sanad* which is as important as the famous ones, granted by the Sayyad brothers to Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath in 1719.

The emperor issued this important *sanad* in 1750 and granted to the Marathas the *chauthai* of the Subas of

The *sanad* of 1750.

Multan, Lahore and Thatha, and the *Faujdaris* of the Sarkars of Hissar, Sambhal, Muradabad, Badaun, Ajmere, Agra, Narnol, and Mathura. The Marathas agreed to expel Abdali or any other enemy of the emperor from these imperial territories and to maintain the existing administrative arrangements in those lands undisturbed. A cash of 30 lacs out of 50 lacs was instantly placed in the hands of the Marathas to enable them to act at once. * The acceptance of such an imperial responsibility involved the Maratha government into immense costs of blood and money and it made Ahmed Shah Abdali and the Rohillas their inveterate enemies. But the policy was in full agreement with the views of prominent Maratha statesmen of the day, who required their government to get places of Hindu pilgrimage right up from Kurukshetra to Gaya under their control and thus ensure their safety against all possible aggressions from Islamic fanaticism.†

In pursuance of these agreements the allies at once entered Farukhabad, Rohillas invaded. etc. drove away the Rohillas in-

* The *sanad* is given in *Sources of Maratha History* (Marathi) by Rajwade, I., 1-10. Prof. Sarkar in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* Vol I: sees in this an anticipation of Wellesley's policy in Oudh.

† See letters quoted by Sardesai in *Riyasat* 1750-1761. pp. 11-14. Also his *Nana Saheb Peshwa* (Marathi), 180-182.

to the hills and pillaged the place, which had never been visited by any plundering army before. The Rohillas agreed to pay large indemnities to the allies and escaped destruction. But they never forgot this first Maratha invasion and their leaders clearly saw that the aim of the Vazir's policy was none but their political annihilation. Najib Khan Rohilla's alliance with Ahmed Shah Abdali was the immediate consequence of this. We should at the same time remember that in the Maratha camp, one party, headed by Mulhar Rao Holkar, desired to pursue a temporizing policy with the Rohillas. Their leaders, seeing enemies all round, turned to a foreigner for help and as we shall see later on, like all traitors to their country, brought about their own destruction.

The invasion of Rohilkhand was resumed in 1754-55, when Raghunath Rao conquered almost all the places sacred to the Hindus. The Peshwa had asked him to make a permanent arrangement for the administration of the conquered territories but he was running into debts and so he placed his officers at Delhi but made no provision for the Doab and returned home in August, 1755. The Sindhia and Holkar at this time incurred the serious displeasure of the Rajputs and Jats by pursuing a wrong policy. The latter therefore offered their co-operation to the Vazir, Intizam-ud-daula, who attempted a coalition of all the northern powers

against the Marathas.

We saw above that the charge of the province of Lahore was left to Mir Mannu

The Indian recovery of the Punjab.

by Ahmed Shah Abdali when he returned home after the third

invasion of India. Mir Mannu acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his new master, though he was careful to see that he did not entirely break away from the emperor of Delhi also. He died of a fall from his horse while playing polo. So the administration was looked after by his wife, Murad Begum, in the name of an infant who also died soon. Then letters patent were issued to her by the courts of Abdali and Delhi. But her government became very unpopular and the Sikhs once more spread anarchy far and wide. Mir Shihabuddin or Ghaziuddin, the Vazir, seized upon the opportunity to resume the possession of the province for the empire and he sent an agent to advise Murad Begum. The latter resented this. So the vazir took prince Ali Guhar with him and invaded Murad Begum. The Begum and her family were carried to Delhi. The Vazir married her daughter* and appointed Adina Beg,

* It seems that Mir Mannu had once promised the hand of his daughter to the Vazir. *Note, P. 227, History of the Punjab.* Murad Begum cursed the Vazir for this insult. She said: "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Shah-jahanabad (Delhi), and disgrace to the nobles and the state." *Ibrat Nama, Khairuddin Muhammad, E & D, VIII, 240.*

appointed Maratha and Mahomedan governors and then leaving very scanty troops, left the province. The Marathas in this campaign watered their horses in the Indus. Raghoba received letters of congratulations from Kandahar and even from the Shah of Persia in his own hand, asking him to drive away the Afghans from that province. The Punjab campaign was the culmination of Maratha power. No Hindu ruler after Anangpal had ever been the object of such royal compliments and no south-Indian ruler or general had ever encamped on the Indus. Raghoba was nicknamed *Ragho Bharari*.*

Once more the work of a campaign was undone, and to add insult to the injury,

The fifth invasion of India by Abdali. the destruction of the Afghan power was consummated by

Adina Beg and the Vazir Ghaziuddin with the help of the Marathas. What if they destroyed the Rohillas and assumed the government of India in the name

and while the interest of everybody else suffered from the disorder that prevailed, he never allowed his own to be sacrificed. He founded the town of Adinanagar and his memory is still respected by all. *Hist. of the Punjab*, 2:2-33.

* On this triumph, the Peshwa's Vakil wrote to him:—Only you, sir, could avenge the whole of Hindustan on Abdali and that has raised your glory to its highest pinnacle. Your Highness' career is doubtless glorious. I have no power to enlarge on it in this letter. The Vazir was so happy to learn the news of this great triumph. Your Highness is the incarnation (of a great idea). Breathes there the man, who can sing your glory?

of the emperor? The Vazir just then had the emperor murdered and raised a grand-son of Kam Bakhsh to the throne. The policy of Abdali was therefore clear. He must avenge the wrong of the Punjab on the Marathas, declare Alamgir's son, Ali Guhar, as emperor, save Najib Khan, his only sincere ally in Hindustan, from annihilation and if possible, even assume himself the rule of India. So with this idea he sent his general in advance to the Punjab. He occupied the Punjab between the Indus and the Chenab. Abdali himself soon followed up, and drove away the posts of the Marathas and their allies, September, 1759. In the mean time Dattaji Sindhia entered Delhi and on the request of the Vazir, attacked the Rohillas, but was defeated near Shukratal, November, 1759. Najib therefore sent urgent despatches to Abdali to advance to his rescue. So the Afghans crossed the Jamna and were about to enter Delhi when they were opposed by Dattaji and Jankoji, both of whom were defeated at Badaun Ghat near Delhi, January, 1760. Some 8000 Marathas were killed in this action. Mulhar Rao Holkar, who was lying hitherto idle, now advanced to Agra but he was forced to fly for very life near Sikandra by the generals of Abdali, March, 1760. "The Holkar had not even sufficient leisure to fasten a saddle on his horse but was compelled to mount with a mere saddle-cloth under him, and fly for his life."†

† *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, E & D. VIII, 272.

His whole army was destroyed and he took refuge with Suraj Mal Jat. These two actions decided the fate of the Maratha party at Delhi. The Vazir Ghaziuddin, who had recently caused Alamgir to be murdered and who had set up Kam Bahksh's grand-son on the throne, fled to the Jats. Ahmed Shah entered the capital which was looted for 20 days, even though Malikuzzamani and others implored him to spare it. § Then he plundered Mathura and the country of the Jats and finally encamped on the frontiers of Oudh. At the same time he acknowledged Ali Guhar or Shah Alam as emperor. Shuja-ud-daula, the Navab of Oudh, finding it difficult to meet the Marathas, joined Abdali. Najib and Hafiz Rahamat, the two Rohilla chiefs, had already united their forces with the enemy.

Once more the foreigner had crossed into India with the help of Indians and once more the policy of Balaji Rao had been thrown to the winds. The Marathas therefore made a supreme effort to deliver the empire and with it their native land from the invader's clutches. The Peshwa equipped an army of 75,000 men * placed it under the command of his cousin,

The Grand Army of
Sadashiv Rao Bhao and
Vishvas Rao.

§ *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh*, by Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, E & D. VIII, 146-147.

*The Bhao Saheb's *bakkhar* is most eloquent—चांगले हत्ती, सरस घोडों, उची वळे, व खजीना घेउन निघाले.

Sadashiv Rao Bhao, the hero of Udgir, and sent his own son, Vishvas Rao, with it. A cash of one crore was placed immediately at the disposal of the general. The grand army started from Poona in March, and entered Delhi in July, 1760. The command of the city was handed over to Naro Shankar and all paid *nazarana* to Vishvas Rao. Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht was declared regent in the absence of his father, Shah Alam, and Shuja was appointed Vazir, though he was away with the enemy. This argues so favourably for the moderation, shown by the Marathas. They had no idea to extinguish the empire. Money being scarce, the Bhao ordered the silver of the ceiling of the *diwan-i-khas* to be melted and issued as coin.

Abdali was hitherto hemmed in the Doab and his means of communications were intercepted by the Marathas. So he crossed the Jamna to block the Marathas. The Bhao was therefore compelled to guard the Jamna from Agra to Kunjpur, a distance of 200 miles, if he wanted to cross it and then attack the Afghans. So he first reduced Kunjpur and beheaded its Muslim commander and his son. This was a mistake. Then both the armies encamped on the field of Panipat in October, 1760.

Negotiations were being carried on between the two parties ever since the entry of the Marathas into Delhi.

But Abdali was only biding his time and Najib Khan Rohilia was careful to see that the issue was fought out and that no peace was signed by the combatants. At the same time Abdali kept himself regularly informed of the condition of his enemy and he intercepted the correspondence that passed between the Bhao and the Peshwa. First the initiative lay with the Marathas and Abdali was short of money and supplies. But after the defeat and death of Govind Pant Bundele, who was cutting off his supplies, the Afghans stood at a great advantage over the Marathas. In one skirmish, Jankoji Sindhia defeated the enemy while in another Najib was furiously attacked and defeated by Balwant Rao Mehendle who was mortally wounded. The advantage now passed to the Afghans.

The two armies fixed their camps at a distance of a cannon-ball. Sadashiv encom-

The Great Disaster. passed Panipat and excavated a ditch round his camp, all along which Ibrahim Khan Gardi was asked to place his artillery. The Maratha army almost exhausted the limited supply of corn and other necessities in the town of Panipat. After Govind Pant's defeat and death, the surrounding country passed under Afghan control and so the army had nothing to eat. "The cup was full to the brim and it could not hold another drop of water," as the Bhao wrote to the Vakil of the Vazir. The whole army requested the general

and foot, inclusive of camp-followers and 192 pieces of artillery, according to an eye-witness and officer in the Durrani camp.

The Peshwa, who had come up as far as Bhilsa, learnt the sad news of the great disaster from a merchant's letter and returned home, to die in June, 1761. Ahmed Shah Abdali would have very much liked to stay and sponge upon the riches of India. But his army demanded to be led back to Afghanistan and so he retired after a stay of two months in Delhi. He invaded the Punjab thrice after 1761 but *then* he warred against the Sikhs who were now organizing a federated state-system in the Punjab, and even sent an envoy to Poona. ¹ The throne of Delhi remained vacant up to 1771 when Mahadji Sindhia, the limping fugitive of Panipat, escorted Shah Alam to the capital and took the management of the palace under his control. The Rohillas returned home, poorer and exhausted. Ahmed Shah exacted from Najib Khan a large fine and his people lost heavily in the late war. On the field of Panipat he often said that the whole Deccan was at the feet of his allies. ² But when he returned home, he found that the Marathas were not destroyed and that he was no longer the great chief, who could sway politics in the north. With all his acuteness and versatility

¹*Riyasat*, III, 109.

²*Kashi Rai's Bakhshar*, 28-29

His political vision was narrow. His attitude convinced Shuja and the Marathas that the Rohilla party was unreliable and that it deserved extermination. So when Warren Hastings sent Colonel Champion to Lucknow, Shuja lost no opportunity in destroying the power of Najib's people and Hafiz Rahamat Khan fell without friends and without allies in 1774. That was the fruit of Panipat. The Jats and Rajputs escaped unhurt and the former soon acquired fresh political importance on account of their proximity to Delhi and Agra. The Rajputs were a spent force in India. The Marathas were defeated but not crushed. They returned once again to the north and dominated the politics of Hindustan for two generations more. The culmination of Maratha history was reached not in 1761 as is commonly supposed and taught, but in 1772, the date of Madhav Rao's death. * The Vazir of Oudh made the most of the catastrophe. If he did not throw in his lot with the Marathas, he did not displease them and in the asylum he gave to Shah Alam, he possessed in his hands an important pawn to play his political game. The Sikhs grew more restless. Even Ahmed Shah found it hard to crush

1 So wrote Verelst to the Directors once; Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 91-92.

* G. S. Sardesai's *Main Currents of Maratha History*, P. 132. As a letter said:—भगवत्कृपेकलन श्रीमन्ताचें राज्य कायम आहे. The Peshwa's power still remains by the grace of God.

them. His losses in the late action were not slight and he refused ever afterwards to proceed beyond Amritsar. The East India Company gained the most out of the great conflict. It could carry out revolutions in the Subedari of Bengal at its sweet will and when the friendless emperor and Vazir were defeated at Buksar, it could legalize its position without fear from any stronger power in north India. For, though the government of Poona did not fall into a state of military or political sterility, and though the administration of the youthful Madhav Rao put forth the vigour of his race, still, the Maratha reverse at Panipat forced Hindustani politics to relapse into particularism—which is another name for scramble for power—because it destroyed for a few years a great military power in the north. It incapacitated it for action for a brief time and during that time, new men, new forces, and new ideas began to govern states and individual actions in India. Contemporaries could not see through this in the midst of the clash of interests, the web of diplomacy and the rattling of arms. But the centre of gravity was henceforth shifted to Calcutta. The Sikhs closed the influx of men into India from Afghanistan. The Mughals were no longer an imperial race. Little did Najib Rohilla dream that in inviting the Afghan foreigner to crush a formidable Indian power, he was unconsciously paving the way for the supremacy of

the East India Company at Hugli. One fact was however clear to every one. The rule of the Mughal was at its end even at his own capital. The shades of night had been descending over it since long and it disappeared from sight just as the British power began dawning on the eastern horizon. The Mughal rule began and ended on the field of Panipat.

CHAPTER XVII.

Why the Mughals fell.

The foremost cause of the fall of the Mughal rule in India was its theory of suc-

Theory of Succession.

cession. The death or illness of every emperor was followed up by intrigue for the throne. It may be said that from Babar to Bahadur Shah II who relinquished his palace to the representative of the British crown, every emperor had a competitor. This gave rise to intrigues, wars, and murders. It weakened the sense of loyalty in the administration and the nobility. It was the parent of mischiefs aboard. Such a theory was acceptable in Badakhshan, Afghanistan, and Khorassan. But when the rule of the Mughals spread over India and when Delhi and Agra became its capitals, it became dangerous and unworkable. The Hindus believed in hereditary monarchy. Then, the prize of victory was no longer a small, rugged and half-civilized principality with few pr-

of administration and imperial policy. In India the prize was a rich and powerful empire signifying rule over millions and suzerainty over autonomous states, each of which could put to shame any flourishing Khannate of Central Asia. Indian political and social conditions were ill-adapted to recurring strifes for succession.

The occupant of the throne of Delhi or Agra

always took care to ensure himself against all possible and remote rivalries by incapacitating the members of the royal family from future action. Several methods were employed for this. The most usual one was that of murder and assassination. The next was blinding—a blind ruler is a contradiction in terms in Islamic states. The third was slow poisoning. The fourth was a permanent locking up of the princes at Salimgadh or Gwalior. These practices had fatal consequences on the fortunes of the Timurids in India. Many able princes were removed from public life. The permanent alienation of members of the royal house from the civil and military administration of the state impoverished the dynasty, the services and the empire. A Baji Rao could count on the loyal support of a Chimnaji; a Balaji could count on the able service of a Sadashiv Rao Bhao; but a Bahadur Shah could not trust an Azam, an Azim or a Bidar Bakht. Father disliked son and son deposed

father. A brother or a kinsman was a curse and a plague, but never a source of comfort. The home of the emperor was always converted into a slaughter-house for his children. In course of time the *dar-i* or the princes' quarters at Delhi became a convenient hunting-ground for king-makers, mischief-mongers, and disloyal Amirs. The captive-princes spent their lives with the *zanana*, reading history and theology like Azizuddin or Alamgir, or sporting with damsels like Muhammad Shah, or saying prayers and calling on the Quran as their only help against unscrupulous masters as Shah Alam did when pitched against Zabita Khan. No subject could claim protection and safety of life and property from such rulers. The only care of a Timurid was to get one of the two-*takht ya takhta*, *takht ya tabut*-the throne or the grave, but no intermediate position in life. Needless to say, only one man could get the throne. The rest were consigned to the grave or the prison.

The third cause was the characteristic attitude of the services to the dynasty.

Attitude of the services. The services were loyal to the dynasty as such. But as the succession was never regulated by fixed principles, each member of the administration attached himself to one or the other prince of the royal family according to his self-interest and when the party of his support was worsted in the fight, he at once attached himself

to the victor who never forgave him. Khan Jahan Lodi, Jashwant Singh, Zulfikar Khan, the Sayyads, Najib Rohilla and Ghaziuddin are examples of such political trimming. In the great wars of succession, the several parties committed these differences to the arbitrament of the sword and many servants were killed in the fight. The empire lost for ever the services of such distinguished men. There were seven well-fought actions between 1707-1719 and we have only to imagine the condition of the civil and military establishments of the state after they were deprived of the advice and guidance of able and old men. The wonder is that in spite of these losses, the empire could still produce men like Mir Shihabuddin, Adina Beg, Mir Kasim, etc. The successors of Bahadur Shah could not enforce obedience to their orders on the Subedars and Vazirs and sent contradictory instructions to them with a view to work out the destruction of the party in opposition. So armed conflicts took place between different nobles, when many young and promising men were victimized. Alam Ali Khan etc. gave up their lives not for any great idea but only to advance the interests of a faction at Delhi or in the provinces.

The Mughal aristocracy was very factious and communal. It was divided into Turani, Persian and Hindustani parties. It was loyal to the dynasty. But when the Timurids began to

A factious and communal service.

show signs of weakness and when other communities rose into prominence, they refused to co-operate with them. They were so racial and communal in their outlook that a Nadir Shah or an Ahmed Shah, who carried away unspeakable treasure from India and who inflicted great hardships upon the people, was acclaimed more enthusiastically by some than a Bajji Rao or a Sadashiv Rao Bhao, whose only fault was that he belonged to the other community. The Sikhs, Rajputs, Marathas and others felt no glory in being the subjects and citizens of such an empire. So when the old aristocracy went bankrupt, there was none to take its place and the empire fell to pieces.

The great wars of Rajputana and the Deccan

during the time of Aurangzib

Poverty of Talents.

impoverished the administration.

The generals, who returned to the north, were old men. But they died or retired. The emperor refused to listen to the advice and counsel of experienced men like the Nizam. They were feared and suspected because their rivals at Delhi were a den of flatterers and hangers-on. The result was that there was in course of time a lamentable dearth of able and talented men in the state. With the alienation of the Rajputs, the ground of recruitment was closed from that direction. When Afghanistan was permanently detached from the empire and the court of Delhi grew poorer, no Persian or Turani

came from far-off Islamic states to save the falling edifice. Provincial governors became independent, because that was the only way to save themselves from infamy, ruin or insignificance and all local talents found scope there. The later Mughals could not cultivate in India a rule, loyalty to which was impersonal, and so few espoused the cause of the empire when it was dissolving. Each provincial power looked to its own safety first and the rule of the emperor disappeared for ever.

Babar conquered Ibrahim Lodi by his superior generalship. Akbar turned back the invader, Mirza Hakim, by his great military resources. But his successors lagged behind in the art of war. The Persians conquered Kandahar. But Shah Jahan could not recover it with all the resources of his empire. The Mughal emperors failed to keep themselves in up-to-date touch with the progress of military science. In their wars against the Rajputs and Marathas they could score easy triumphs because the latter were but poorly equipped. The Mansabdari was an antiquated system to defend India against a Nadir Shah or an Abdali. With the same material but with better officering, the British became masters of India.

The wars of Aurangzib's reign produced a feeling of uncertainty and pessimism in the Indian mind. The

Economic Exhaustion.

production of wealth became difficult. The last farthing was sucked out of the peasantry and the trading communities. The emperor could not receive regular payments from provincial governors. Administrative poverty was followed up by economic exhaustion. The pay of the army fell into arrears. Daily fights took place between rival factions at Delhi. The emperor was powerless to protect his own person. The empire had now outlived its usefulness. So it surrendered to superior worth.

After the time of Shah Jahan, new forces, new ideas, and new communities

Incapacity to assimilate new growths. appeared on the stage. The rise

of the Sikhs and Marathas as

powerful political communities was not the consequence of the religious policy of Aurangzib only; it had behind it great moral forces, which were gathering strength without foreign stimulation. But the Mughal rule had not the genius of a healthy political organism to absorb and assimilate these new growths into its very flesh and blood and turn them to account to the great good of the united empire. Akbar had breathed the spirit of progress in the body politic and created a gigantic state-system, where every new idea or force could have found a worthy accommodation. But Aurangzib beat an abrupt retreat from that course of policy and the Sikhs and Marathas could find sufficient self-expression only by breaking through the antediluvian system.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Our debt to the Mughals.

If a student of history were called upon to fix a period when the people of India lived in comparative peace and prosperity, when the peasant reaped the best fruit out of his investment and when the merchant did flourishing business, he would name it between the accession of Jahangir and the death of Shah Jahan. Other periods of Indian history may have been much more distinguished by the character of the rulers and by the happiness of the people. But it may be said without fear of contradiction that our knowledge about them is not supported by such reliable evidence as it is for the years, 1605-1658. The fact is that the Mughal emperors* from Babar to Bahadur Shah lived and died as imperial rulers. The emperors were Padishahs, not Sultans. The latter title they reserved for their sons and the rulers of dependent or other independent states like those of Khandesh, Bijapur, Goalkonda, etc.†

* "There is probably no record in the history of any family that has produced such a long and unbroken series of distinguished rulers as the emperors of Hindustan, descended from the fierce Timur Beg, known in Europe as Tamerlane." Keene's *Fall of the Mogul Empire*, p. 23.

† There is a funny story about this. "One day Abul Hasan, Sultan of Goalkonda, mildly protested against the habitual insolence of Mirza Muhammad's address to him, "I too am called emperor."

The Great Mughals gave peace and order to a large part of the Indian continent. Their rule created in us respect for law and order, which is the first condition of progress. They made the improvement of the peasantry and the welfare of the people an object of their rule. Excepting Aurangzib, they made the state a secular institution, where religion was to be treated as a matter of personal concern and in which there was complete freedom of worship, so long as it did not encroach on the fundamental prerogatives of the state. This was no small virtue if we remember that religious toleration was accepted as a rule of political action only in the nineteenth century in Europe. The history of the Mughal rule was free from any wholesale massacre of non-Mahomedans. Even Aurangzib did not carry his war against the non-Sunnis to that extent. The Mussalman or Sunni polity in India was made to surrender two prerogatives by the Great Mughals—firstly the right to coerce the subjects into a particular form of belief and secondly the right to destroy not only the property but also the lives of those, who did not agree to this view of the state.

in my country." The haughty envoy retorted. "It does not become you to assume the title of emperor. If Aurangzib hears of it, he will become more angry." Abul Hasan promptly replied "You chide me by mistake. If we are not Padishahs how can Aurangzib be styled the Padishah of Padishahs?" And the Mughal envoy had to admit to his friends that the repartee totally silenced him." Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, IV, 357.

The Mughals taught us to think and act imperially. If the number of non-Mahomedans in the superior services was small when compared with that of the Muslims, that small number of men occupied the best positions of trust and responsibility in the state. This fact is often forgotten in these days. As Badaoni said, "A Hindu could wield the sword of Islam." No Indian has ever been retained in such trusty and responsible work in our days as Raja Jai Singh, Todar Mall, or the members of the family of the Nagar governors, Dayaram and Chhabilram. The highest offices in the state were then open to non-Muslims, no matter whether they belonged to princely or middle-class families. This rule had the result of creating an indissoluble bond of loyalty to the dynasty amongst the services and the people. The Mughals therefore gave us those rare opportunities for training in the affairs of a great empire. This accounts for the uninterrupted continuation of a great imperial tradition with the administration and people even when the empire was revealing the symptoms of its approaching end. Next, all the provinces and feudatory states of the empire were allowed to have their share in the administration. The state of Amber gave to the empire for nearly two hundred years great statesmen, warriors, and diplomats. Our debt in one direction deserves a special emphasis. The Indian is traditionally a home-keeping

individual, who does not undertake great risks unless goaded by economic considerations. The Mughal rule instilled into us the tradition of an imperial enterprize and responsibility, which received an unfortunate set-back after the time of Aurangzib. For two hundred years at least, we forgot our bed-stead patriotism—as the late sister Nivedita put it so happily. We owe this great impulse in our national life to the Mughals. The Mughal rulers maintained large civil and military establishments. We could learn, as we had never learnt before, excepting in the days of the Mauryas, the Guptas and of Harshavardhana, how to obey the orders of a power, which was not visible to every one of us always, which sat high on the throne at far-off Sikri, or Agra, or Delhi, whose majesty was represented in the nooks and corners of its large empire by a multitude of officers, hailing from diverse parts of it. And we learnt not only to obey, we learnt how to command also. A Khatri of Oudh—Todar Mall—governed in Gujarat; a Nagar of Gujarat, Cuhabilram, held the imperial rod in distant Oudh or Allahabad; a Rajput—Jai Singh—commanded armies of all classes in far-off Bulkh—and he learnt the Turki language there. Next, this imperial idea was carried into more permanent phases of life. Bhimsen, a Kayastha, and Ishwardas, a Nagar Brahman of Patan, wrote their histories of Aurangzib's reign in Persian. B

wrote his *Lubbut-tawarikh-i-Hind* in the same language. They were followed by a host of others, e. g. Subhan Rai, Khushal Chand, Anand Ram, Haricharandas, etc. Nay, some went a step further. They prefaced their accounts of Indian history with the histories of the Prophet, his family, etc., as all Mussalman writers did. Some even inserted the *kalima* of the Islamic faith before they commenced their work. Thus the genius of the Mughal empire succeeded to some extent in bridging the gulf between the various parts and communities of India and created a sense of imperial citizenship in the Indian mind. It is a matter of opinion how far it would have been able to receive and assimilate the civilization of the west and transfuse its result into Indian society.

The Mughal rule completely revolutionized the mode of Indian life. The ice-works started by Shah Jahan near Sirmur, the gardens planted in all parts of the land after the manner of central and western Asia, the several fashions in dress, the introduction of new flowers, new fruit, new scents, new inventions, etc. the improvement in the breed of cattle, the construction of special baths, the extension of the northern style in house-building, the movements of populations, the culinary art of the rulers and its adoption in India, all these subjects are too wide to be described here. But we may conclude the argument of this chapter

with the remark that the 17th century ancestor of the modern high-caste Hindu dressed at home in his old style, said the *gayatri mantra* in archaic Sanskrit, wrote his home-correspondence in his vernacular, addressed himself to his Mussalman colleagues in fairly good Persian and excellent Urdu, presented himself at court in the Turani fashion, and fought his emperor's battle with European artillery.

In short the Mughal rule witnessed the growth and spread of Indo-Mughal civilization, "whose agent was the empire of Delhi. The whole of Hindustan and much of the Deccan too bowed under one sceptre; administration and cultural uniformity was given to all parts of this continent of a country; the artery roads were made safe for the trader and the traveller; the economic resources of the land were developed; and close intercourse was opened with the outside world. With peace, wealth, and enlightened court patronage, came a new cultivation of the Indian mind and advance of Indian literature, painting, architecture, and handicrafts, which raised this land once again to the front rank of the civilized world. Even the formation of an Indian nation did not seem an impossible dream."¹

¹ J. Sarkar: *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIX.

An Economic Survey of the Period.

Moreland in his economic survey of India at Akbar's death, following the conscription method and judging from the number of people that enrolled themselves in the armies, estimates the total population of the south and north, excluding Assam and Kabul, to be one hundred million souls, nearly one third of the present number, at the time of Akbar's death. Further he declares that there was no middle class. "In Delhi" remarks Bernier, "there is no middle state. A man must be either of the highest rank or live miserably." There were no lawyers, no professional teachers, no journalists or politicians, no engineers or such other services.

The above conclusions of Moreland should, however, be accepted with certain modifications. There was a separate class of professional teachers e. g. Maulvis and Brahmins. Again, Moreland's method of computation can never give us reliable results. One has only to notice the unusually large number of soldiers etc., which Abul Fazl gives in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in his description of the provinces and be convinced of its futility. Again the armies were mercenary and often they changed their master. So the method involves risks of cross computations.

The conditions of agriculture were practically the same as they are at present with certain exceptions. There was no concentration of crops; every province was self-sufficient. Turning first to crops grown, Abul Fazl has preserved for us a list of the name of every crop. This list is nearly identical with those contained in the agricultural statistics of the present day. We find cereals, rice, wheat, barely, millet, and the usual kind of vegetables. We also produced sugarcane, (both thick and thin), cotton and hemp, the usual oilseeds, and such miscellaneous crops as indigo, poppy, *pan*, etc. Tea, coffee, potatoes, tobacco, groundnut, etc. were not cultivated.

There was less specialisation of cropping than at the present day. Specialisation was not indeed entirely unknown, for Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India, while the production of indigo was to a large extent concentrated in two localities, Biana near Agra, and Sarkhej near Ahmedabad. Cotton was more widely grown than is now the case, though the aggregate of production was probably less and it is reasonable to infer that most parts of the country were nearly self-sufficing in the matter of clothing, food and other requisites.

There were not many canals or other irrigation contrivances to supply water to the fields even during years of scarcity.

Akbar directed his revenue officers to advance money to cultivators, though we cannot infer from this that the need was adequately met by state loans. So poor was some part of the peasantry that at times they did not hesitate to give their wives and children in pledge to the bankers for money advanced on account of revenue collections.

Famine was not the only calamity to be feared; wars and rebellions also paralysed the life of the village while the oppression of the state officials drove the peasants to revolt. It is doubtful whether the cultivators on the whole were very much more prosperous than at present.

The famines of the years 1555-56, 1574-1575 in Gujarat, one of the richest regions of India, 1583-84 in Orissa, 1614-15, 1618-19, 1630, 1635, 1640, 1641, 1642-43, 1645-46, 1644, 1648, 1650, 1658, 1659-60. etc. caused great miseries to the people. The poverty in the years of scarcity was so great that the masses took several years to recoup.

Pestilence in the form of cholera was the inevitable consequence of wide-spread starvation. The deadly epidemics of 1575 and of 1584-85 in Bengal carried away a large population, including Munim Khan, general of Akbar.

The emperors made considerable efforts to relieve the distressed in years of scarcity. However not many particulars are recorded and their effect was extremely limited. Their relief measures can

stand in no comparison with the highly elaborated and extensive organization developed by the British government for fighting famines since 1877. But then the conditions are different.

Labour was of three kinds in the Mughal times: (1) Forced labour. This

Labour. was very common and was exacted by the state, the village, and the religious community under various pretexts. The Mughal empire did give recognition (2) to slavery, although on paper, at least in the later years of Akbar's reign that institution was abolished. The state had a tendency to monopolise (3) the skill of technical labour and it maintained many *karkhanas* or workshops where *poshaks* or dresses etc. were prepared for distribution amongst the nobility.

The wages of labour were regulated according to the custom of its caste, which looked after the poor and the destitute if they had none to befriend them. There were few luxuries which could be enjoyed by labour in those days, because tobacco was unknown, and drinks were prohibited by custom, although *bhang*, *pan*, etc. could be occasionally enjoyed by the workmen. Work was given on paid wages or in return for kind. The number of skilled workmen was not very large, although in certain departments, e. g. spinning, weaving, engraving, stone-polish, dyeing, the Indian workman was the most efficient. *Panchies* did the work of

trade unions then and labour showed a tendency to migrate to the capital always. The state supported free students, attendants in mosques, religious and learned men, judges, and *muftis* or expounders of law. It sometime supported out of public revenues even non-Muslim charities. It maintained *langar-ghanas* or kitchens where food was supplied free of charge to Muslims and Hindus. The Amirs also supported such institutions out of their purses.

Capital existed on a very small scale.

Banking.

It was concentrated with the court, the nobility, and the bankers and its distribution was very unequal. Capital was supplied by these people generally. But the rate of interest was exorbitant. New industries could be undertaken only with the permission of the state, which had a share in the profits accruing from them. Banking houses known as *kothis* financed such enterprises, the nobility, and even the court. They had branches all over the country and they issued *hundis* which circulated with great elasticity in the money-market. The *kothis* or the *shroffs*, viz banking houses and bankers, moved specie on camels, with *harkaras* or messengers, or through the minting establishments which were run by the state for the stamping and issue of coins, that were often of great artistic value. The *kothis* and *shroffs* helped the internal and external trade of the land, so much that some

were known after the name of the article in which they were most interested: e g. firms which helped the indigo trade, were known as *neel kothis*.—indigo houses.

The following table explains the mineral resources of India in the Mughal time:

Mineral Resources.

<i>Mineral</i>	<i>Suba</i>
Silver	Agra, Ajmere.
Gold	Oudh.
Copper	Agra, Oudh, Ajmere.
Zinc	Ajmere
Turquoise	Agra.
Lead	Ajmere.
Iron	Gwalior, Berar.
Diamonds	Berar.
Red Stone	Fatehpur.
Salt	Bengal, Ajmere, Rann, Lahore.

The best camels and cows were bred near Kachch and in Gujarat, says Abul Cattle, etc. Fazl in his *Ains* 60 and 66, part first of the *Ain*. He observes in the latter *Ain* that a pair of Gujarati cows were sold at 100 *Mohurs* and good Gujarati bullocks travelled 120 *Kos* in 24 hours. Akbar once paid 2 lacs for a pair of Gujarati cows. A fine breed of horse was obtainable in Soruth and especially in Kachch according to Jahangir's *Tuzuk*. Elephants* roamed almost all

over the land. Great care was taken to preserve them because they constituted an important part of the army, though after 1761 we do not hear much about their employment in war.

As regards non-agricultural production, India

was very nearly self-supporting.

Manufactures, etc.

We produced all the food-ad-juncts, though not in sufficient quantities to satisfy all our needs. The emperor encouraged the production of *shawls* on a large scale in Kashmir. Carpets and other textiles were woven at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. Good cotton clothes were prepared at Patan in Gujarat and Burhanpur. Sonargaon in the Dacca district of Bengal was famous for its delicate fabrics. Benares, Patna, Tanda in Bengal, etc. were busy centres of trade in various commodities. The ordinary village industries were practised as they always have been throughout the ages.

The Mughals gave great patronage to art and the best artisans were always employed in the service of the state. They were great lovers of perfumes, scents, etc. which were used on a large scale in the palaces and the houses of the nobility. The following table illustrates the industrial activities of the empire.

Saffron

Kistwar in Keshmir,

Indigo

Biana, Sarkhej near Ahmedabad.

Elephants were used to extinguish fire.

Poppy	Malwa
Paper	Berar, Lahore.
Sugar	Agra, Bengal, Lahore, Gujarat.
Perfumes	Navsari (Gujarat).
Fish oil	Thaththa.
Knives	Kabul.
Weapons	Lahore, Gujarat.
Cloth	Khandesh, Thaththa, Allahabad, Malwa, Guja- rat, Bengal, Lahore, Coromandal coast.
Carpets	Agra.
Woollen cloth	Jaunpur, Kashmir.
Glass	Agra.
Boat building	Bengal, Gujarat, Thaththa.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* tells us that fish formed
an important part of the people's

Fish. Pearls.

food in Bengal and Orissa and
also in Sind, and various travellers record that its
use was common in the south of India. Fish was
dried and salted for provisioning ships. Fish-oil
was prepared in Sindh, and fish-manure was com-
mon in Gujarat. Pearl-fishery was also carried on
in south Indian waters and off the coast of Ceylon.

Pearls were found in Jamnagar waters near Kathiawar.

The Mughals did build great roads, but not like the Romans. The roads were

Roads, etc.

only fair-weather ones and not

much was spent on their repairs. The principal aim in building them was military, although they were used for purposes of trade and commerce as well. They terminated at the capital, at ports like Surat, or on the frontiers, as for instance at Kandahar or Burhanpur. Some of them were prepared in the course of imperial marches, as for instance, three thousand stone-cutters, mountaineers, and diggers were employed in the course of Akbar's march to Kashmir. Forests were not kept in good order, nor did the administration make them serve the needs of commerce by building roads there.

Bridges were of boats. Some time there were causeways, built to cross rivulets and streamlets. Iron was not used in the construction of bridges.

Inland navigation was restricted specially to the Indus, the Ganges, the Jamna, the Narbada and the Taptee. It was of course managed by Indians.

The roads except certain great high-ways were not good. Permanent bridges over even the smallest rivers were rare. Ordinarily rivers had to be crossed by ferries and bridges of boats and the passage was extremely difficult when the streams were in flood. At Agra and some other cities boat bridges were kept up for ordinary traffic as

long as the state of the rivers permitted. Public inns and wells were provided near the roads.

Transport was carried on by means of bullock-carts, bullocks, camels and mules. *Raths*, horses, elephants and bullock carts were used for passenger-traffic; the rich used *palkhis* and elephants. Large-scale transport and military commissariat were carried on through the *vanjaras*.

For traffic in the rivers etc., the Mughals

Shipping Industry.
Mercantile Marine.

made sufficient provisions as regards small boats for enjoyment. To protect merchants carrying on trade with foreign countries, some arrangement was made to defy the *chanchras* or pirates. India produced good timber for the building up of small boats, etc. The conquest of Bengal, Hugli and Assam was carried out by Akbar, Shaista Khan, and Mir Jumla by means of strong flotulas of boats. The Indian mariners did not display the nerve and the strategy which characterized naval warfare in the west. But the question of Indian defence was one of land and not of sea.

The Admiralty department of Akbar managed ships and boats, supplied good mariners and trained up people for that work. It regulated the ferries and boat-service for passengers. It also levied and collected duties at the ports and on the rivers. But it had no fighting quality.

The dawn of the 16th century witnessed

arrival of Europeans on the coasts of India. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English in turn captured the market of Indian goods that were exported to Europe. Every European nation tried its utmost to control our foreign trade. The principal settlements of the foreigners were Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Danda Rajapur, Broach, Cambay, Surat, Calicut, Bhatkul, Negapatan, Pulicat, Pondicherry, Masulipatan. Balasore, Hoogly, Chittagong, and Lahari Bundar in Sindh.

These European communities tried to obtain from the emperors, their representatives in the provinces, or the local rulers, very extensive privileges of commerce, freedom of movement and the right of establishing fortified settlements, privileges which were almost equivalent to what were up to very recent times known as "Capitulations" in Egypt, Turkey, Persia, China, etc. But the emperors and the local rulers did not concede all that was requested by the Europeans. Much of the gibe and intemperate criticism of Roe and others will be easily intelligible if we looked at the question from this stand-point. It should also be remembered that the intrusion of the foreigners into the Indian business meant a corresponding contraction in the profits of the Indian merchants, and the decline in the prosperity of the once famous ports of Surat etc. is in no small way traceable to this fact. The

point: however is too broad to be discussed in details here. As early as 1615, Sir Thomas Roe advised his masters to capture the Gujarati trade at Sokotra, etc.

Foreign Trade. Foreign trade was considerable in imports of articles of luxury. The principal ports were Deval in Sindh or Lahari Bunder communicating with Thaththa, Multan and Lahore in the interior of the country and with Persia and Arabia outside. Surat, Broach, Cambay, Daman, Div, Goa and Ghogha were the important centres of commerce with Africa and Malacca Straits. Bassein, Dabhol, etc. traded with the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and even with Arabia and China. Further south lay the ports of Bhatkul, Kochin, etc. trading with China, Persia, Arabia and Africa. The trade at these ports was in the hands of the Portuguese, the Armenians, the Moors and Indians. On the east coast the ports were Pulicut, Negapatam, Satgaon, Hoogli and Chittagong, communicating with Northern India and China.

The trade-routes with Tibet and with Afghanistan were on a small scale.

In the country commerce was monopolised by the Khattris in the north, by the Banias in Central India, and by the Chettis in the south.

The following table* illustrates the nature of the foreign trade of India.

* *From Akbar to Aurangzib* by Moreland, P. 57.

<i>Coastal regions and seaports</i>	<i>Principal exports.</i>	<i>Destination.</i>
Sind:-Lahari Bunder.	Calico.	Persian Gulf; coastwise to Goa.
Gujarat:-Cam- bay, Ghogha, Div, Surat.	Cotton goods, yarn, indigo.	Red Sea, Per- sian Gulf, Achin, coast- wise to Goa.
Konkan:-Cha- ul, Dabhol, Rajapur.	Chiefly Calico and fancy go- ods; some pe- pper.	Red Sea, Per- sian Gulf, Achin, coast- wise to Goa.
Goa :-Bhatkul (decaying at the time.)	Transshipment; few local ex- ports.	Persian Gulf, East Africa, Lisbon, Mal- acca and bey- ond; Ceylon.
Milabar:-Cali- cut, Cochin; several minor ports.	Pepper.	Achin to Lis- bon, and to Ceylon and Malacca, Cali- cut and minor ports to the Red Sea.
South Coast:- Quilon, Tuti- corin, Nega- patan.	Calico, Pepper.	Mainly coast- wise; Negapa- tam to Malacca and beyond.

Coromamandal Coast :-St. Thome, Pulicut.	Fancy goods, calico and muslin, yarn.	Malacca and beyond Achin; Pegu and Tenasserim; and coastwise; Goa and Malabar.
Masulipatam.	„	Malacca and beyond; Achin; Pegu and Tenasserim; Persian Gulf; coastwise, north and south.
Vizagapatam.	Provisions (rice and oil-seeds)	Chiefly coastwise.
Bengal:-Hoo-gly, Balasore. Chittagong.	Provisions (rice and sugar; muslin.	Pegu and Tenasserim; Malacca and beyond; Achin; extensive coastwise trade.

A change in the commerce of Indian exports brought in various problems for solution. India's demands for foreign goods much exceeded the imports. The Indians wanted gold and silver for the excess of their exports over imports. But Europe, in accordance with the mercantilist theory, found out means to avoid sending the precious metals. Only three ways were open (1) to export the goods to India (2) to raise large foreign loans on interest (3) to pay off the

foreign trade through profits made from business with other countries of Asia.

The most important fact which should be remembered regarding a change in the commerce of our country is the export of salt-petre to Europe. The changes in the art of war in Europe gave great impetus to the export of this commodity in very large quantities, salt-petre being an essential element in the preparation of gunpowder.

On the contrary our trade in pepper suffered much on account of a great revolution in Europe in the art of preparing and preserving food. Once the preservation of meat and other food material required pepper in large quantities to be exported to Europe. But the finding of a new process in Europe gave a great blow to the export of pepper.

The frontier trade was carried on with Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, Persia, and Central Asia. Nepal exported cattle, horns, musk, borax, dyes, cardamoms, yak-tails, furs, etc. for textiles, salt, sugar, metals, and spices. Bhutan exported musk and yak-tails. From Burma were obtained gold, silver and precious diamonds.

The Mughal emperors developed a remarkable system of coinage. There were
 Coins. coins of gold, silver and copper.

The *molhurs* or gold coins of Rs. ten each were pretty well in circulation; but the silver rupee of 172.5 grains of silver was the most common in use in the

time of Akbar and after him. The *dam* or *paisa* was the chief copper-coin and forty *dams* equalled one rupee. The *damri* was the smallest copper-coin, representing one-eighth of a *dam* in use, although, for accounts, the *jital* which was equivalent to one twentififth part of the *dam* was taken for calculation. *Couries* were in use as coins and one pice brought seventy-two *couries*. The *Ain-i-Akbari* has given us a long list of coins which were in circulation in Akbar's time. They were round, and square and round pieces of gold, silver and copper, worth 100 *mohurs*, 20 *mohurs*, 2 *mohurs* 12 rupees, 10 rupees, nine rupees, one rupee, quarter of a rupee, one eighteenth of a rupee, one-sixteenth of a rupee, and lastly one-twentieth of a rupee. Some of these coins were coined under special orders only.

Copper coins were *dam*, *adhela* (half a *dam*), *paula* (one-quarter of a *dam*), *damri* (one-eighth of a *dam*) and *jital* (one-twentyfifth of a *dam*). Forty *dams* made up a rupee.

Jahangir gave different names to different coins. He issued coins in the name of Nur Jahan, whose currency bore the twelve signs of the *zodiac*. In the sixth year of his reign he issued a gold *mohur* with his portait in the act of raising a wine cup to his lips on one side of it and with the sun in the constellation of Leo on the other side of it.

The minting activities of Shah Jahan and his successors need not be detailed here.

The sources of income for the empire were tributes from feudatories, property which lapsed to the state on the death of a Mansabdar, fines, gifts from conquered rulers, their subjects and Amirs, coinage, banking, monopolies, customs, commissions on sales and purchases of horses etc., land-tax, the poll-tax-*jaziya*, pilgrim tax, transit-duties, river-tolls, taxes on cattle, taxes on trees, *peshkush*, trade-licenses, fees to officers, *salami*, fees on hiring or letting (*kiraya*), market-dues for hemp, blankets, *ghee*, weighments, slaughter of animals, tanning, gambling, etc. hearth-tax, fee on sales of houses, manufacture of salt, lime, liquors, etc, fishing, *abwabs* or cesses, etc.

It is sometime argued that the people of India were much happier and more prosperous under the Mughals than now. On the other hand, some writers, specially Englishmen, maintain that India is happier to-day than it could ever have been. But to compare conditions in this way is not scientific. India could not have been half so rich as the West is to-day, in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, because the conditions for such a prosperity were wanting at the time. At the same time, we must remember that India was certainly much better off than most countries of Europe in the centuries which witnessed the growth, expansion and fall of the Mughal empire.

CHAPTER XX

The Mughal Army.

The *Mansabdars* were the chief constituents of the army. They were appointed for twelve months but payments were never made to them for the full term of appointment. The emperor made so many deductions, some of which are pointed out below:—

(1) Miscellaneous expenses were incurred by the court and the officers, holding *mansabs* were required to make them good. They came up to 5% on the allowances.

(2) Mint-charges or brassage-*kharch-i-sikka*.

(3) Moon-rise deductions, equal to one day's pay.

(4) Deductions on account of supply of food, etc; they were one-twentieth of the allowances for mounted ranks, one-twelfth otherwise.

(5) *Khurak-i-dawab*, charges for maintenance of animals.

There were rules for less payment during absence, illness, discharge, leave and furlough, desertions, death, fines, etc.

Rewards of various kinds were paid to the *Mansabdars*, e. g, titles of *Khans* etc., robes of honour (*khilats*) of five, six, and seven pieces, consisting of turbans, long coats (*jamās*), waist-scarf (*kamrbandh*), *Sarpech*, *balabandh*, turban, jacket

with sleeves, caps, long gowns (*kaba*), trousers, shirts, girdles, etc. from the *khilatKhana* or *toshakhana*—departments for the manufacture of the *poshak*, gifts of jewellery etc, distinctions regarding kettle-drums, flags, ensigns, thrones—*aurang*, *chhatra*, *shaiban* or sunshade, a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole known as *kumquma*, fish-flags, etc.

The Mansabdars had their followers, known as *Tabinan* and slaves or personel attendants, known as *chelas*.

The *Ahadi* meant the gentleman trooper under the immediate service of the emperor, while the most trusted troops of the Shah-in-Shah were known as the *wala-shahis*.

Admission to the army was regulated on considerations of race and creed. Mughals enrolled themselves under Mughal chiefs; Rajputs under Rajputs, Persians under Persian Amirs, and Afghans under Afghan Amirs. Of course the recruitment was always mixed, viz. there were certain fixed proportions under which Afghans, Iranis, Mughals, Sayyads and Rajputs were accepted by the Amirs or Mansabdars, who would send recruiting agents to their lands to enlist men on the register. The recruits brought their own horses, when they were known as *silahdars* or borrowed others' horses when they were known as *bargirs*. These men were then presented to the Bakshis who sent the list to the emperor for approval. There were several Bakhshis

to do this work.

The emperor maintained a special department to verify the muster rolls, known as the branding department, revived by Akbar after the manner of Alauddin Khilji and Sher Shah. This was necessary because every one was required to bring his own horse and weapons and his salary depended on that, with the result that if the verifications were not periodical and exact, the equipments would be maintained only on paper.

The person of the trooper was very minutely recorded by the office and his horse was properly classified and branded. There were different forms or patterns for branding the animals, maintained by the Mansabdars. These branding marks were maintained not only by the imperial office but also by the Mansabdars themselves.

Horses were Arabi, *Persian*, *Mujannas*, *Turki*, *Yabu*, *Jaji*, *Jangli*, and *Iraki*.

The horse was the most important animal in the army, as the Mughal force generally consisted of cavalry.

The equipment of the army was various and it consisted of the armour, worn on a *quabja* or jacket, coats, etc. The arms in use were for offensive and defensive purposes, viz. swords, shields, maces, battle-axes, spears, daggers, knives, bows, arrows, matchlocks, pistols, rockets, etc. Some of the weapons were kept with great fashion, splendour and even foppery.

Heavy guns came into use after contact with Europeans. Pompous names were given to them.

The artillery was officered by Turks first, and afterwards by Europeans, who were employed on liberal payments by the Mughal emperors. The chief of the Staff was known as the *Mir Atash* who supervised the casting of cannon. All stores were kept in the great forts, e.g. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, etc.

Elephants were used to carry commanders, generals, archers and artillery and to batter the gates of forts.

Of discipline, drilling, or military exercise, we find little that is elevating. There was no organisation. Uniforms did not exist, excepting in some troops here and there. But there were military exercises, sword plays, tournaments, fights, hunting expeditions, etc.*

Forts were built on the plains and on hills. Siege-warfare of a scientific type was not known well and forts were reduced generally by starvation, although sapping and mining were practised well.

The army organization of the Mughals was very disappointing. The Mansabdars were never loyal to their emperor or country and the soldiers were never loyal to their commanders. They were jealous of one another. The rank and file of the army was brave, and often even reckless. But it was not well-led. As Irvine says, "every fault in

*Marches, conduct of battles, etc. are not described here.

the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Mughals: indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat and cumbrous equipment." ¹

NOTE.

Some Visitors from abroad.

The most renowned visitor to our country after the Muslim occupation was Marco Polo, who visited the South, Gajarat, etc. in the latter half of the 13th century. Ibn Batuta visited India in 1324 from Tanjier. He was appointed *kaji* by Sultan Muhammad Tughalak and he visited various places in the south and north. The Venetian, Nicolo de Conti, travelled in India during 1420-44, and visited Cambay, Calicut, etc. He was followed by Athanasius Nikitin from Russia, and by the Genoese merchant, Hieronimo Di Santo Stefano. The sojourns of Nuncz and others who have left to us valuable information about the history of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, need not detain us here.

Ralph Fitch covered the period from 1582 to 1591 for a travel to India from Europe. Master Cæsar Frederiki went to Goa in

¹ *The Army of the Indian Mughals; its Organization and Administration*, by William Irvine, 1903.

1563. John Mildden Hall started from London in 1599 and finished his journey in 1606.

European travelling became more frequent after Akbar's death on account of the establishment of the various East India Companies by Holland, France, England, Denmark, etc.

Reference was made to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the court of Jahangir in the account of that emperor's reign and to Hawkins. Roe had on his staff the Reverend Terry, who stayed in India from 1615 to 1618. He has given us some interesting account.

The Dutch East India Company sent Francoys Pelsaert to India in 1620. He stayed almost the whole time of his appointment at Agra up to 1627, and recorded his experience of the land in *Remonstrantee*. He makes special references to the domination of Nur Jahan, the murder of Khushru and the prohibition of cow-slaughter by the court out of respect for the Hindus.

An Italian, by name Pietro Della Valle, visited India and specially the Deccan during 1623-27. He gives us a good account of towns and cities, specially Cambay, where all European travellers noticed the working of the *pinjrapoles* or hospitals for cattle, maintained by the Jain and other communities. Valle visited South India and his description of the habits of the orthodox Hindus is very faithful and interesting.

The visit of Sir Thomas Herbert was a very short one.

Johann Albert Von Mandelslo was a German by birth and visited Gujarat and Northern India at a very young age, arriving at Surat in 1639. He had seen prince Bulakhi at Qazvin in Persia, and he gives us a thrilling story of the *sati* at Ahmedabad.

Peter Mundy reached Surat in 1628, and sailed for England in 1636. He visited Gujarat, Malwa, Oudh, Allahabad, and Behar. He describes various events of the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and refers to many notable religious and social customs of the people, specially the Hindus. The interesting feature of his narrative is the description he has given of the famine of

1630 in Gujarat and part of the Deccan.

Sebastian Manrique, a Portuguese, travelled in the East and covered Northern India, in his tour during 1640-41 on his way back from Arakan to Kandahar. His description of the towns and cities is very interesting. But his references to the events of the times are not correct.

Richard Bell and John Campbell gave information about Shah Jahan's reign from bazar reports.

Now we take up three most reliable and instructive records of travels from European visitors. They were Francis Bernier, Jean Baptiste Tavernier and Niccolao Manucci.

Bernier was a Frenchman and was a gifted observer and writer. He had seen Egypt, Syria and Palestine. He landed at Surat in 1655. He was in the service of one Danishmand Khan and stayed in India for twelve years. He has given us excellent accounts of the war of succession, the death of Dara, the conquest of Hugh and Tibet, the *harem*, the life of the court, and of Kashmir, Ielingana, and Behar. He taught Latin to his patron and sent to him some books in that language from Europe and translated them in Persian.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier was a great traveller, and diamond merchant of France. Aurangzib showed him the jewellery of the court. He visited India in 1641 and repeated the travel several times. He compares the roads of India favourably with those of Italy and France and his accounts have a highly scientific value from the economic stand-point. He describes the peacock-throne.

Dr. Fryer, 1673-1681, Thevenot, 1666, Alexander Hamilton, 1688-1723, and Orme have given some interesting accounts of Gujarat, the Deccan, Bengal and Madras.

Niccolao Manucci was an Italian by birth, who left his native country at the age of 14, and passed the most part of his life in India, dying in 1717. He knew Turki and Persian. He was first in the service of prince Dara whom he accompanied

to Shamugadh, Lahore, Multan, Bukkhar, and Delhi. After his patron's death he journeyed to Beneal and then accepted Raja Jai Singh's service, which he resigned in 1666. He next practised as a physician at Lahore. In 1678 he was introduced to the crown-prince, Shah Alam, who took him to the Deccan. Manucci has given us most interesting side-lights on contemporary history in his *Storia do Moor*.

Niebuhr stayed in India from 1763 to 1767 and G. Carreri, an Italian, visited Aurangzib in the Deccan in 1695 in the course of his travels.

Visits to India by Europeans became too frequent in the 18th century. They, therefore, do not call for a special notice.

The value of the records of European writers should not be exaggerated. They gave us valuable information about the economic and social condition of India. But their information about the political history of the times was very defective. Hence their accounts should be accepted at their proper worth.

Over and above these accounts, we have reports of the English, French and Dutch factors on current events. These reports have great local value and much valuable information has been recently obtained from them and the histories of Shivaji Shambhaji, Haider Ali, etc. have been greatly corrected on its basis.

On the whole, therefore it would be correct to accept the following judgment pronounced on the historical importance of the foreign traveller's accounts "The narratives are vitiated by an attempt on their part to cater to the imagination of their readers. Moreover a majority of them were obsessed with the idea of race superiority, and were thus unable to appreciate properly the institutions which they describe...Some of them were half-educated men and were unfit either to observe correctly or to record...precisely, and most of them were not in a position to obtain correct information about political affairs; hence they

content themselves by reproducing rumours and current gossip.”*

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